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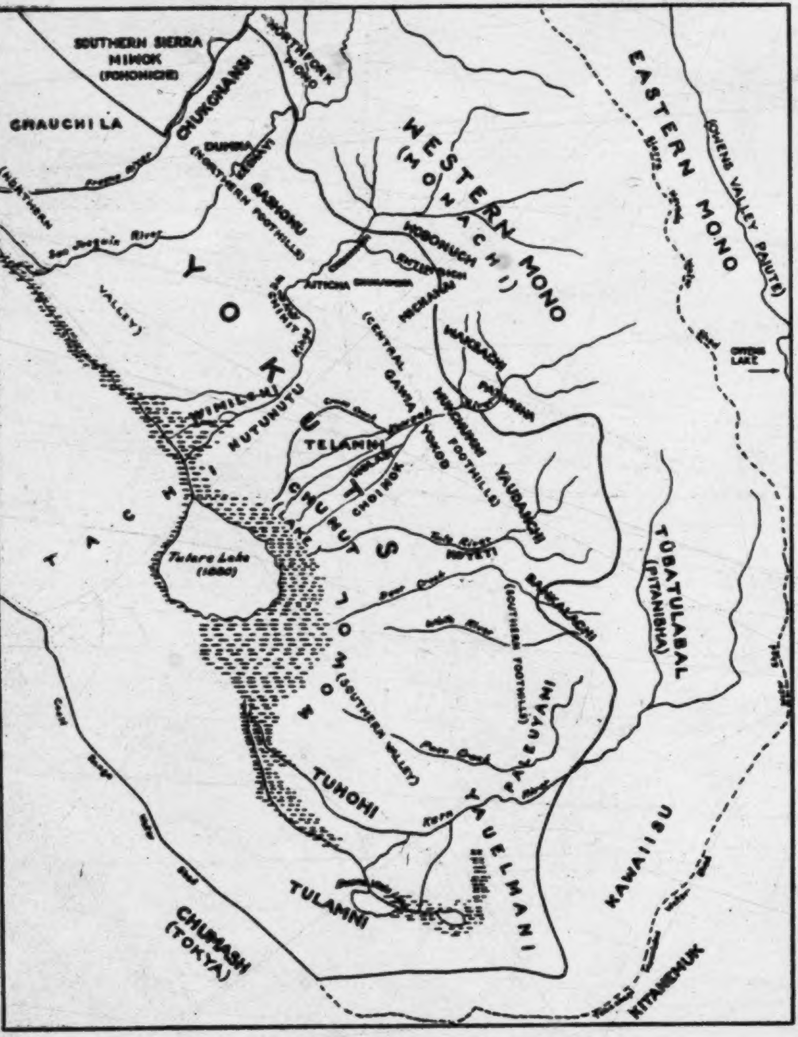
[FACING P. 1]

Western Mono NS25
Tübatulabal NS22


SOUTHERN SIERRA
MIWOK
(POHONICHE)
CHUKCHANSI
NORTHFORK
MONO
CHAUCHILA
DUMNA
(NORTHERN FOOTHILLS)
GASHOWU
(NORTHERN
San Joaquin River
VALLEY)
Y O K U T S
WESTERN MONO
(MONACHI)
EASTERN MONO
(OWENS VALLEY PAIUTE)
HOLKOMA
ENTIMBICH
AITICHA
MICHAHAI
CHUKAIMINA
CHOINIMNI
Kings River
(CENTRAL
GAWIA
YOKOD
FOOTHILLS)
WACHAWCH
PATWISHA
WUKCHUMNI
WIMILCHI
HUTUNUTU
TELAMNI
WOLASI
CHOINOK
CHUNUT
LAKE
TACHI
Tulare Lake (1850)
Tule River
KOYETI
YAUDANCHI
BANKALACHI
(SOUTHERN FOOTHILLS)
Deer Creek
White River
Poso Creek
WOWOL
(SOUTHERN VALLEY)
PALEUYAMI
Kern River
TUHOHI
YAUELMANI
TULAMNI
TÜBATULABAL
(PITANISHA)
KAWAIISU
KITANEMUK
OWENS LAKE
Coast Range
CHUMASH
(TOKYA)

Map 1. Yokuts and Western Mono tribes (after Kroeber)

[P.16]

177 The ethnographer who works with a subjected people and attempts to recapture their vanishing culture must strive to set his findings definitely in time, to define for others the limits of the time-plane in which the customs described were known to have existed. Fortunately for those of us who have dealt with Yokuts culture the answer is relatively simple. The span of contact with Europeans and Americans, compared with that for some other regions of North America, has been brief, so brief that aboriginal life still flourished late in the nineteenth century. The majority of informants consulted in 1925 were born in native houses in native villages, and while outward destruction of their culture progressed rapidly during their lifetime, they thus not only had seen and experienced traditional Yokuts life themselves but had heard firsthand from their parents of the native ways then currently disappearing.

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● 131
177 The civilization described herein, then, is that of the early youth of living informants and that of their parents and even grandparents, for often it was the grandparent who informed or instructed the young, for whom the old people's joy of reminiscence assumed a new and poignant significance in the face of their culture's palpable decadence. The years 1885 to 1860 cover the youth span of my older informants, the years 1860 to 1830 the mid-span of their parents' lives, and 1830 to 1800 the mid-span of their grandparents' lives. The bulk of cultural detail recalled was seen, experienced, or heard about in the years 1840 to 1890 approximately; in other words, it is Yokuts and Western Mono life of those years that we have recorded and described. Naturally, even in 1840 the picture was not uniform for the entire valley, for though the advent of the Spaniards on the coast in 1769 had not seriously disrupted native living in the San Joaquin Valley up to 1820, by 1840 the lake tribes nearest the Coast Range had begun to feel uneasiness and American penetration had started in earnest. By 1850 the stimulus of gold-seeking and land-seeking brought white settlers into the valley

[P. 1c]

101 ● 131 177 to stay, and for the first time the foothill peoples experienced the dismay previously suffered by the lake tribes as the intruders increased in numbers. Still, after the hostilities of 1851 and certain dislocations resulting from attempts to reservationize the natives, a balance of peace between Indians and whites was established and Yokuts life went on. The villages in the foothills resumed their habits and the displaced Indians from the fertile strip between the lake and the foothills straggled in for haven.

101 131 177 648 In the upper hills the Western Mono,[1] who up to 1850 were entirely undisturbed by white intrusion, were still not on easily friendly terms with their Yokuts neighbors below them. Even as late as 1870 a mutual antagonism was manifested by both the Penutians and Shoshoneans, although in differing degrees depending on how far these natives were thrown together because of pressure from a common enemy, the American strangers. The Ghost Dance of 1870, diffused into Yokuts territory by Mono proselytizers, was the first social affair in which these two groups mingled freely, and even then mutual suspicion was not entirely dispelled.

177 The outward similarities of culture now to be found between Yokuts and Western Mono are largely a veneer assumed recently by the latter. To analyze both cultures for the segregation of items into culture-historical compartments is a formidable and intricate task which I do not propose to undertake here. Yet some indication of the major features of the question may be given in brief.

Clearly the ceremonies which adorned and characterized Yokuts culture -- the Jimsonweed Ritual, the Rattlesnake Ceremony, the Annual Mourning Ceremony with its components of Huhuna Dance and Shamans' Contest -- came to the Western Mono only as introduced performances. Probably few Wobonuch or Waksachi had witnessed them in Yokuts villages until, after 1870, they were free to go there as trusted visitors, or

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[1] Including those called Northfork by Gifford (see Bibliography) and spoken of collectively as Monachi herein.

439 south of the mountains (the Coast Range). The
Tokya ate the fish from the shells and traded
436 these to their inland neighbors. Usually the
buyer made them up into money: this was what
the Wowol did. The Tachi went to Wolasi
villages to trade with the Wowol, but no
farther south, as Yi´nɛl was the most southern
Tachi village. The Tachi, Wolasi, and Chunut
traded seed foods in exchange.

439 The Telamni came out to the Wolasi to
visit but not to trade (sic). They, the
574 Wechihit, Wolasi, and Chunut came to Tachi
mourning ceremonies at Tɛlwe´yɪt. The Gawia
did not ever visit so far west.

The large Tachi village called Tɛlweyɪt
361 was on the edge of the lake south of the
115 present town of Lemoore. An important chief
there was Luču´ši. The informant M.G. was born
there; after her marriage she moved "a little
east up the river [Kings?] to a village called
Gaiwɔ´šyu. The barren area west of Tulare Lake
which extended as far as the Coast Range and
was roamed over by Tachi was called Utju´i.
(Kroeber places a village, Udjiu, in this area.)
There was a pond near Loston Hills.

The Chunut informant, J.A., gives a differ-
578 ent picture of Tachi relations, but her less
361 intimate view of the situation makes it seem
unreliable. She states that the Tachi, Wowol,
and Chunut fought frequently, with the Tachi
and Nutunutu as allies against the combined
Chunut and Wowol. Tɛlweyɪt, a Tachi village,
was at Summit Lake. At Woko´n were a series of
camps among which the Tachi moved, especially
when one camp had been visited by death. J.A.
named Hono´tan (to stop suddenly) and Či´yi
(bones) as two important Nutunutu villages,
both near Kingston. Čiyi is undoubtedly
Kroeber's Chiau. A chief there was Oli´kɪs,
nicknamed Nai'nai´'i'ɪs (Squint-eye) because
he was cross-eyed. The Nutunutu was a very
large tribe, J.A. said.

The Chunut on Tulare Lake had Tachi and
101 Nutunutu neighbors toward the north. Their
131 land extended eastward almost to the present
site of Tulare (city), east of which dwelt the
Wolasi. The main Chunut rancheria, which J.A.
pronounces pi´sras, a pronunciation I believe
is a corruption of "Pierce's Ranch," was near
Farmersville, which she claimed was Chunut
territory (čunu´tači pa'an). Near Tulare (city)
101 was a bottomless pond called mike´yɪt; things
which fell in were never recovered. The Chunut
484 frequently walked over to the ocean across the
131 mountains to the west, provided relations were

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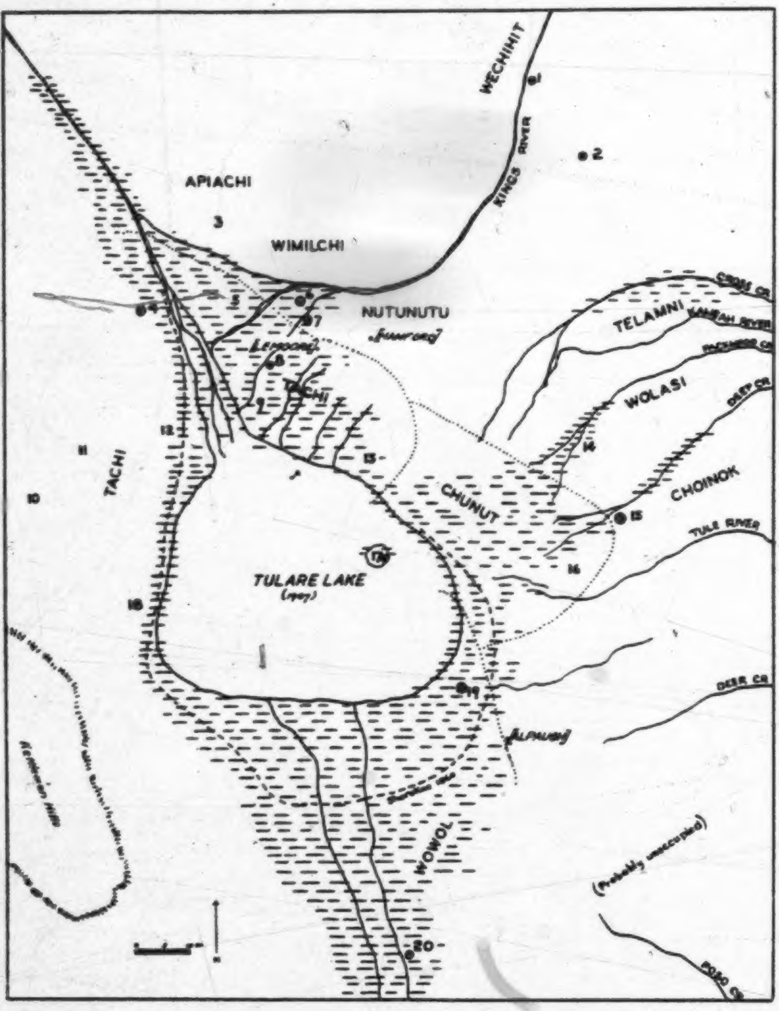
WECHIHIT
KINGS RIVER
1
2
APIACHI
3
WIMILCHI
5
6
7
NUTUNUTU
CROSS CR.
TELAMNI
KAWEAH RIVER
PACKWOOD CR.
WOLASI
DEEP CR.
TACHI
8
9
12
11
TACHI
10
13
14
CHUNUT
CHOINOK
15
TULE RIVER
16
TULARE LAKE
18
19
DEER CR.
WOWOL
(Probably unoccupied)
Kettleman Hills
20
POSO CR.

Map 2. Local Map A: Lake tribes

Y 101 friendly with the intervening Tachi (and, pre-
131 sumably, Salinan).

Wowol territory was somewhat west and
[484] elsewhere south of the Chunut. One important
village was called Yiwɔ´ni. An island in
Y Tulare Lake belonged to the Wowol; it was
[361] called witiʼtsolo´wɩn. On it was a village
which J.A. and her mother visited by means of
Y balsas. They had a relative there. On the
[164] island was a tremendous number of bleaching
bones which J.A. says were those of humans who
had died of smallpox.[25] The visit was probably
made between 1860 and 1870; it was "before the
big earthquake."

South of Bakersfield lived people who "had a lake in the middle of their mountain. It dried in the summer." (This may be Castac Lake, possibly a small lake near present Tehachapi.) This tribe was called tipe´kɩl yoko´č (red clay people) "because they lived in houses plastered with red clay, with tule roofs which were covered with mud." The people who live there now are called Tejon (whether this was Fort Tejon or Tejon Ranch some distance to the east, J.A. could not determine; probably the former, which is near Castac Lake).

Y The Tokya (Chumash and Salinan) lived "on
[439] the coast"; the Salinan of Chulame were called
Tokya also. Various types of shell money were
got from them. J.A. had not heard of Mutulu (a coast Indian raider mentioned by Wobonuch informants) or other individuals from the coast, and believed that the valley people went out to do their trading rather than that coast people came in. She, too, says that the bought shells were worked into money by the Yokuts purchasers.

At Ventura lived the Ititu´wɩt, but J.A. does not know whether this was the Yokuts name for these people, or what they called themselves.

T The Kawe´sa (Kawaiisu) lived east of Tejon,
[411] toward the hills "and talked something like the
Monachi." They were noted for their large bows
and arrows.

T The Ričiki´tu (Pitanisha) lived at Whiskey
101 Flat "over back of Kern River." At another
time J.A. said Ričikitu was "the Mexican name
131 for the Pitani´sa who lived at Pita´nɩn, where
there was a deep little river."

Y

Localities

103 The following sites are located on Local
131 Map A (map 2). Places known to be villages are
marked with a dot and circle.

1. mu´sahau: a Wechihit village
2. wewa´yo: a Wechihit village
3. wo´hui

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[25] Powers mentions a "plague" which took many lives in the Fresno River region a few years before his visit (Tribes of California, 380).

103 4. tɛlwe´yɩt: a Tachi village
5. ugonə
131 6. hono´tan (to stop suddenly): a Nuṭunutu village
7. či´yi (bones): probably Kroeber's Chiau, a Nutunutu village
8. gaiwa´šiu: a Tachi village
9. wai´u
10. u´ḍjiu
11. go´lon
12. či
13. yi´mɛl
14. waịta´čuiyui
15. pi´sras (Pierce's Ranch?): a modern rancheria
16. č'iu´ta
17. witɩṭsolo´wɩn: a Wowol island village
18. wa´lm
19. yiwo´mni: a Wowol village
20. sukwu´tnu: a Wowol village[26]

Two places not definitely located were: 21, wo´kon; 22, mike´yɩt, a "bottomless" pond near the present city of Tulare.

Warfare

578 According to J.A., who says she derived much of her knowledge from an old Wowol woman now dead, the Chunut and Wowol were particularly friendly and both were on bad terms with two allies to their north, the Tachi and Nutunutu. [201] Signal fires were built on occasion, and warnings and arrangements for battle were made. [727] Doctors were particularly sought out as victims in a battle, and vengeance was wreaked by flaying and impaling their corpses. Head-taking was practised as well as flaying.

701 624 726 There was no war chief, nor did an ordinary chief take any special part in battles, though the account secured by Newman (see below) indicates the contrary. Any brave man, particularly one with Raven (ho´toi) as a supernatural helper, would lead war expeditions. Rarely 726 were more than two or three persons killed. J.A. thinks the bodies remained unburied (which [727] seems unlikely unless the losers were completely routed). She disclaims knowledge of motives for war.

That battles were frequently prearranged is clear from J.A.'s statement, Newman's account, and the account of a battle between the Pitanisha and Altinin.[27] This does not preclude a sudden flare-up such as that described by J.A. when two doctors found themselves unwelcome among the Nutunutu. A certain captiousness or predisposition to fight is suggested in two Yauelmani tales, wherein a mere shout in

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[26] Possibly the Wowol village called "Bubal" by early Spanish explorers (Gayton, Estudillo, 70 ff.); some further information on Southern Valley sites is contained in Wedel's Archeological Investigations at Buena Vista Lake (particularly pp. 12-17).

[27] Kroeber, The Yokuts Language, 274.

[P. 51a] Tubatulabal NS29

T Y 159 father and is older than F.M., now lives up at Onyx.[126]

T Y 756 Mayemai, the shaman, lived at Sototlo; there was another one whose name is not recalled. Poi´'in, the shaman mother of Watisti, was a Bankalachi.

T Y 221 The village broke up during the summer, the families combining in groups of twos and threes for summer camps in the mountains. Little circular brush corrals were built for shelter. They remained out one or two months while the women gathered seeds.

T Y When F.M. was about eighteen years old they moved up to Tule and later, with others, to the present reservation.

621 131 F.M. named a few sites, the location of which I was unable fully to determine. Sototlo village, on Deer Creek, he locates six miles south of Tule River junction, which places both it and another Bankalachi village, Čena´ʷᵃ in Bokninuwad territory if we follow Kroeber's map.[127] Another village, ‘´nᵃwao, was east of Čenaʷᵃ. Tonočim (transvestite) is the name of a little hill just above F.M's house on the present Tule River Reservation. The rock quarry, near the Monachi Golf Club, is at a spot called Toi´yo, which F.M. says refers to eagles' nests that were there. The first reservation, called Tule by all the Indians who refer to it, was at what is now Houghton's Corner on the eastern outskirts of Porterville.

STRUCTURES

T Y 342 Houses at Sototlo were conical, never
gabled. There was no ring at the apex, as in
conical houses farther north: the smoke "just
went out where the brush came together at the
top." When tule (pu´muk) was obtainable, sewn
mats for covering were made of it. Usually
large grasslike "brush" called kana´s‘ts was
twined into mats some 3 to 4 feet long and
T about 3 feet deep: the rows of twining were
Y about 12 inches apart. It took six to eight
[354] mats to cover a house. The fire was in the
center; the fireplace had no special name. The
T "brush" house was called ya´w‘l ti´'i; that
Y covered with tule, pumuk ṭi´'i.[128]

343 The sweat house was a single-post affair. The earth was excavated for about two feet. No side walls were attempted.[129] The radiating roof poles were tied to the top of the center pole. After interstices were filled with "brush," earth was thrown over all. There was

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[126] See Voegelin, 7.

[127] Handbook, pl. 47. F.M. claimed ignorance of any people called Bokninuwad.

[128] This informant, like most dwellers at the Tule River Reservation, speaks Yauelmani.

[129] Cf. neighboring southern California sweat houses (Kroeber, Handbook, pls. 56 and 60).

[P. 55b] Wukchumni

LOCALITY AND INTERTRIBAL RELATIONS

● 131 The territory in which the Wukchumni lived comprised beautiful, oak-studded, foothill
133 country on both sides of the Kaweah River. Situated on the edge of the valley plain yet within the shelter of the hills, the benefits of both were theirs. No section of the valley was more lush than that watered by the Kaweah River and its fingerlike delta of creeks between the foothills and the lake. An almost ecstatic description has been left us by an early visitor, James H. Carson, who saw the country in 1852, two years after Lt. Derby's tour and the same year in which Jeff Mayfield arrived in the San Joaquin Valley.[137]

> 133 The Four Creeks are the next waters met with. These deep and rapid streams are formed by one river [the Kaweah River]. Lieut. G.H. Derby of the U.S. Topographical Engineers, who made the first surveys of this portion of California, in May, 1850, named this the Francis River. It is larger than the San Joaquin or any of its tributaries where it leaves the mountain.
>
> This stream can be heard when you have gone a few miles in among the Buttes at its entrance on the plain, thundering from the rocky heights of the snowcapped Nevada. Its waters, as if tired of their task, seem to stop to rest in a beautiful small lake, formed amongst the conical hills.
>
> These hills divide the waters of Francis [Kaweah] River at the foot of the Lake into the four streams known to the traveller on the plains as the Four Creeks. These creeks meander thro' heavily timbered and beautiful country, some twenty-five miles, where they empty their water into Tule [Tulare] Lake.
>
> Allow me here to digress for a few moments from the tenor of these sketches, and you who admire the beauties of nature, untouched by the hands of man, accompany me to the top of the conical hill[138] that rises its head near the mountain -- far above the rest that surround it- and there view the fancy pencillings of the finger of the unseen Hand that formed from chaos this the most lovely spot in California.-- Now from its top we see around us a hundred conical hills rising from the plain, smooth and diagrammatically shaped, as if done by the chisel of the artist. Here, too, the Sierra Nevada rises abruptly from the plains -- its wall-like, rugged sides running almost perpen-

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[137] Carson, Life in California, 64-66.

[138] Probably the hill called dai'a'pnus (Local Map B, no. 32) by the Wukchumni and regarded by them as their "home spot" or traditional primordial locale. -- A.H.G.

[P. 55 C] Wukchumni

133 dicularly up, until its spiral peaks are capped with the eternal snows that shine with dazzling brightness from the rays of the rising sun. Yonder, far in the plain, rise tall spiral cones of long, slim, rocks, whose bristling tops look like piles of spears stacked by giants of another age... Here on the green plain, from which the Buttes rise can be seen here and there the broad, low-spreading branches of the evergreen oaks. The stillness of nature around is broken only by the thunder of the waters of the Francis River as they come through the rocky gorges of the mountain passes: but, here at our feet, their white foam has died away, and in this crystal lake, where fish of a thousand species sport, they seem to stop and rest before they hurry on to their destination. Now let us turn and look westward. -- The oaks, in their majesty, thickly cover the plain for miles around, and stretch away to the shore of the Tulare Lake. Amongst them and through high green grass, meander the Four Creeks. To the right, at the distance of 25 miles, runs the belt of timber, marking the course of King's River to the lake. On the left is seen at the distance of twenty miles, the broad body of timber that marks the course of Tule river. The body of land, thus bounded, is the best in the valley -- well timbered and watered, and covered with the finest grass in California. Stretching beyond this to the west lie the placid blue waters of the Tulare lake, whose ripples wash the foot of the low hills of the Coast range -- the blue tops of which set a boundary to the scene.

Trade

101
131 The limits of Wukchumni land are indefinite, for all so-called boundaries were trespassed by hunting and seed-gathering groups on all sides, yet limits were recognized at certain points by common consent. On the north Wukchumni territory touched Waksachi in Antelope Valley, which was occupied by Wukchumni families. On the east, up the Kaweah River at the modern hamlet of Three Rivers, a mixed Wukchumni-Patwisha village marked the beginnings of Patwisha holdings. On the south the Wukchumni roamed as far as Yokol, the Yokod nuclear village (the present railway station of Yokohl), and on the west as far as Woodlake where Gawia land began. The small lake there was regarded as joint property of Wukchumni, Gawia, and Yokod for fishing, waterfowl-hunting, and shellfish-gathering. Telamni, Choinuk, and Wolasi sometimes came there too.

The Gawia, M.L. said, lived along the river west of the Wukchumni and had special campsites at springs near Haditao and Sokodao, [P. 56a] Wukchumni Western Mono NS25

Y 101 131 although their main village was Yeitao (Local Map B, nos. 5, 2, and 1). They had another village near the modern hamlet of Klink. They would come onto Wukchumni land to gather berries and redbud. There is evidence from historic accounts that the Gawia were once a powerful tribe. The Yokod came no farther north than Lindcove.

Y 438 The Waksachi lived in Eshom Valley and claimed territory as far west as Aukland, according to M.L. They also came down to the edge of the plains in Wukchumni territory to gather seeds and trade (see Waksachi account, Pt. II). On the other hand, the Wukchumni went up to Eshom Valley for the specially fine acorns of the black oak.

Y [223 439] To the east the Wukchumni went into Patwisha territory, above Three Rivers, to snare wild pigeons. They took tule house mats with them to make shelters, then sold them to the Patwisha, who lacked tule.

Y [222] The Wukchumni went onto Chunut land to the southwest, where magnificent groves of oak abounded, to get acorns when there was a shortage in their own area. No payments were made for these friendly forays among any of the above-mentioned tribes.

Y 439 437 The Tachi from the lake bought burden baskets, coiled baskets, and pottery vessels from the Wukchumni, for all their containers were made of twined tule in aboriginal times (according to M.L. and M.G.). They in turn made the finest of tule mats which they sold to the Wukchumni and others of the foothills. The Tachi and others of the lake tribes were the manufacturers of shell money; they bought the raw materials, unworked shells, from the coast tribes. Thus the movement of money was eastward, of commodities westward.

Y M 177 [191] M [105] Very little that is definite can be learned of the Patwisha, the Western Mono tribe to the east of the Wukchumni. The informant J.P. was half Patwisha in his maternal line. He was born and raised at Hotnunyu, a village where people of Yokuts and Western Mono blood mixed and were bilingual in speech. The Patwisha had the Bear Dance, Shamans' Contest, a village organization with chiefs and winatums, and entered into all ceremonial affairs with the Yokuts tribes, as did the Waksachi. The general impression from J.P. and other informants was that the Patwisha were a small group of Western Mono on the way to complete absorption by their more numerous and culturally richer Yokuts neighbors and that they disappeared entirely during the flux and pressure of white encroachment.

Y 439 648 The Eastern Mono, called Mona ´či by the Wukchumni, were well known to them as traders. In the late summer, when the mountain passes were open, they came over bringing sinew-backed bows, moccasins, rock salt, pine nuts (wa´tat), jerked deer meat, and pine wood "hot-rock lifters," to sell. They wanted money and fine

[P. 57a] Wukchumni

221
166 the families in Diapnuša would move within
621 about two weeks of each other. They went in groups: some were related families, others just bound by friendshio. Infirm people did
[888] not go, being left with food and occasionally visited. The summer encampment lasted until late summer or early fall (wusa´o), the villagers returning in time to prepare for the Annual Mourning Ceremony. Following on that was the season of acorn gathering.

J.B.'s family went with a group of other
● [131] families to Šiye´du, a seed-gathering camp near the present site of Moffett (no. 39), a distance of about four miles. It was near Yokod territory. The original source of the water
[312] there now, unless a spring, was not known to J.B., for even in his childhood an irrigation ditch flowed near by. Referring to their own
[342] house there, J.B. said his "father put up the frame while [his] mother made and tied on the grass skirt. No one helped with this; everybody made his own house." Necessary and
[412] valuable belongings were taken along. The women of the camp kept mortars buried there as no bedrock was available.

There were six houses at Šiyedu, all of
342 the conical, grass-thatched type, of sound con-
592 struction so that they were merely repaired from year to year. Two of them later were
621 permanently occupied by two men who worked on a neighboring ranch [Hangton's?]. There was no special arrangement in the location of the dwellings.

The house occupants were:

1. The chief, Muţoñi (J.B.'s father's sister's husband); Waohet (Muţoñi's daughter) and her husband Ya´ni (J.B.'s half-brother through marriage [does he mean brother-in-law because it is a cousin's husband ?]). Yani and Waohet later lived there permanently.
2. The winatum, Pokoi (J.B.'s father), his wife Mo´muč (J.B.'s mother), To´p·no (J.B. himself), and Kiwi´ya (J.B.'s half-brother) "when he wasn't working."
3. Ka´oses (J.B.'s mother's sister's son) and his wife Po'o´tso (a Yaudanchi, Čamčusan's daughter). They had no children.
4. Pono´to (Bill Garfield), his wife Huisa´na, and their son Wi´aleče (Sam Garfield). Other children not known to J.B. These people were not related to any of the families mentioned above.
5. It·mwi´'iyu (a Wukchumni-Patwisha) and his Patwisha wife (name not recalled).
6. Wati´sti (a Bankalachi shaman), his mother Poi´'i·n[142] (also Bankalachi), his Yaudanchi wife (name not recalled), and her son Čamu´ma (Charlie, of a Yaudanchi father).

J.B. said that for all there were only these six families at Šiyedu in his youth, in his father's time there were many, many more.

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[142] Consistently pronounced Bo´wiyan by J.B.

[P. 58]

Wukchumni

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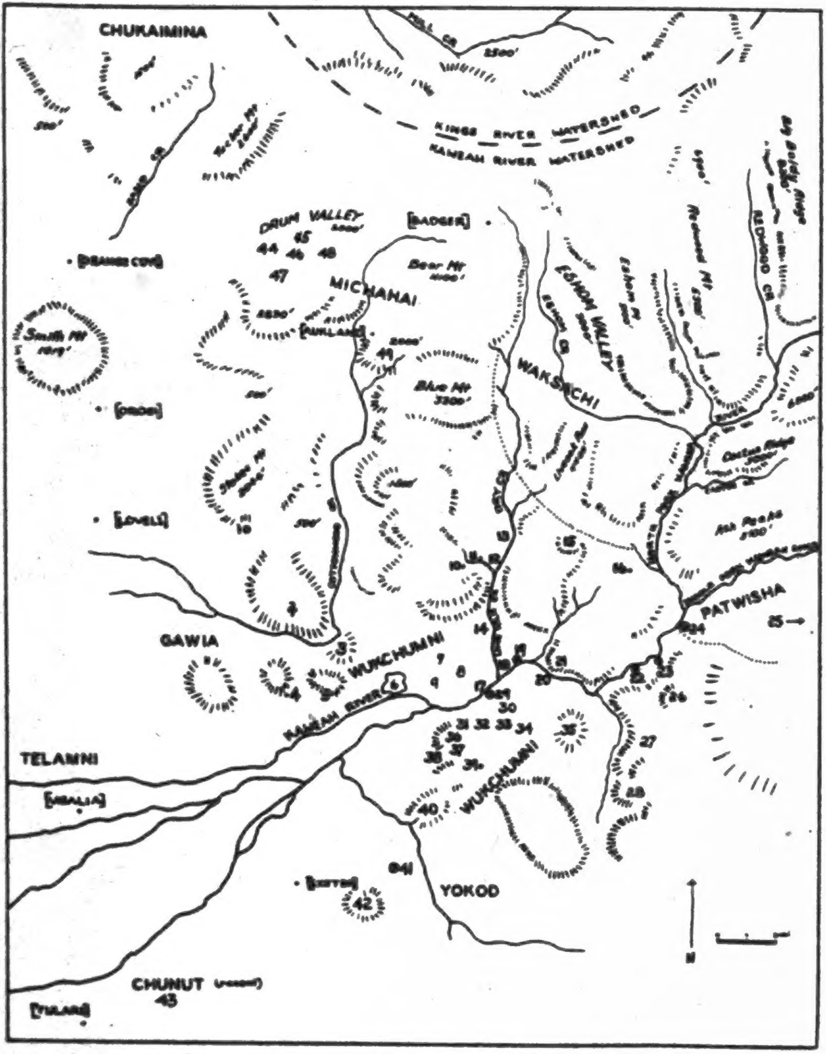
CHUKAIMINA
KINGS RIVER WATERSHED
KAWEAH RIVER WATERSHED
DRUM VALLEY
44 45 46 48
47
[BADGER]
Bear Mt
4100'
MICHAHAI
[ORANGE COVE]
Smith Mt
[OROSI]
[LOVELL]
Blue Mt
3300'
ESHOM VALLEY
Eshom Cr
WAKSACHI
Redwood Mt
REDWOOD CR
Ash Peaks
5100'
DRY CR
PATWISHA
25 →
GAWIA
WUKCHUMNI
KAWEAH RIVER
TELAMNI
[VISALIA]
WUKCHUMNI
YOKOD
[EXETER]
42
41
40
CHUNUT
43
[TULARE]
N

Map 3. Local Map B: Wukchumni and neighboring territory

[P. 132]

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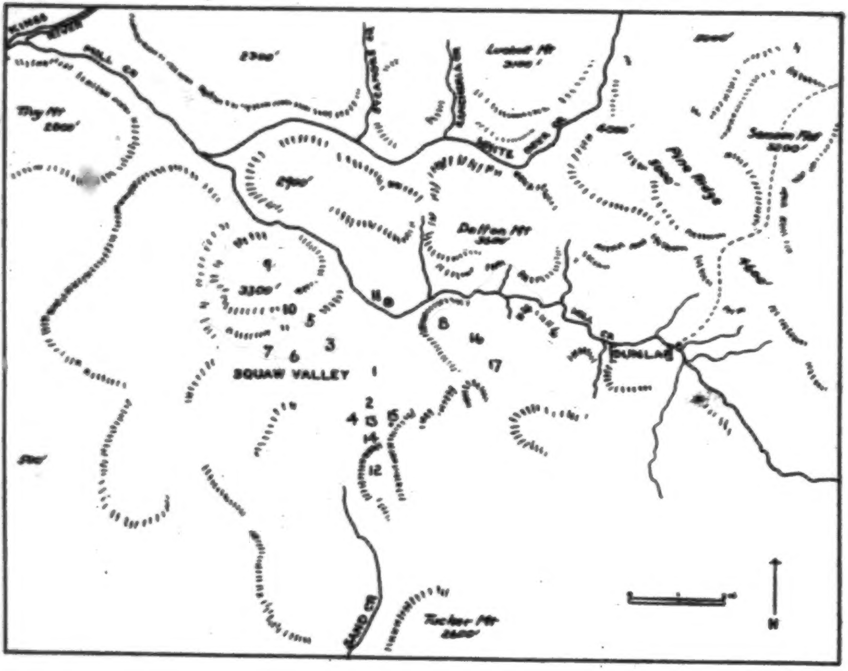
KINGS RIVER
MILL CR
Tivy Mt
SQUAW VALLEY
Lookout Mt
WHITE DEER CR
Dalton Mt
Pine Ridge
MILL CR
DUNLAP
SAND CR
Tucker Mt
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Map 4. Local Map C: Chukaimina and Michahai sites

[P. 133 a] Wukchumni
Chukaimina

177 over toward Nevada every year to get the songs and dances which a man named Mo´man [Moman ?] 668 was making there. He [Moman] was painted red." In turn, several Entimbich and Wobonuch singers 796 would go north to learn the new songs from Joijoi. They went up there before Joijoi came south, which he did once or twice later on. The group of singers came back and held the first dance at Eshom Valley, then at Dunlap, then in Choinimni territory on Mill Creek, then went "to near Lemoore" [Pierce's Ranch ?], to the old Tule River Reservation, and to Fort Tejon. They held no dances on the return trip. In several subsequent years they retraveled this route as far as Tule River but omitted Lemoore: "singers from there came to dances in the foothills." J.B. was uncertain who composed this group, remembering only Samson Dick, Lewu´čui, and Little George Dick (all Entimbich), and A´pawıč, Koiye´wa, and "Tonočim" (nickname) (all Wobonuch). An Entimbich named Mo´suš did the exhortative preaching. As "all the songs were in Mono," J.B. could not understand them [then].

The Ghost Dances ceased a long time ago: 668 J.B. did not know why. There was never any 796 revival. He had never heard of Wovoka. He did not believe the dance was a preventative of sickness or death.

When the first dance was held in the southern end of Eshom Valley, J.B. was living at Diapnuša (Lemon Cove). He was "just a little fellow and went with his father and mother and boy cousin." He had three older brothers who remained at home. J.B. said that by no means did everyone go to the dance "though most did because they were afraid not to"[but of what he did not know].

[Text Continued on Top of P. 133b, --- Analyst]

CHUKAIMINA

115 The following information is regrettably brief and not always clear. The available informants at Squaw Valley were inadequately equipped in personality and language to discuss or reconstruct Chukaimina culture from memory. They were not able to distinguish clearly between events at Maštinao and those occurring at neighboring Entimbich and Choinimni villages. Neither could they get down to cases. For example, while Mo. knew her own and her mother's totem animals, she "wasn't sure" about her husband's, and so on. What was got from P.M., A.M. (a Wukchumni by birth), and Mo. is given for the sake of complete record: only the moiety data can be used safely as it was rechecked several times for mutual agreement.

LOCALITIES

● 131 P.M. could not define Chukaimina territory

[Text Continued in middle of P. 133b, --- Analyst]

[P. 133b] Wukchumni Chukaimina

668 The dance was called soto·´towɨd kam (to-be-going-around dance). A circle of [men and]
796 women, usually alternating, and holding hands, moved in an anticlockwise direction. No fire
535 was in the center, but many fires from encircling camps provided light. Singers wearing the regular feather headdress (ču) sat at one side. They used no instruments. (J.B. thought "some people to the north used clappers and the dancers had bells tied to their ankles.") The singers were not paid, but their food and fire were provided by winatums from various visiting groups.

No unusual clothing was worn, but all used red and white face paint.[285] Red paint was not new at this time.

The dancing was continued all night. During interludes of rest Mosuš made speeches. He said, "God made all this land. The dead people are coming if we dance this dance. They dance this dance all the time where they [the dead] are now."

At sunrise dancing ceased; every one went to swim. During the day people rested, slept,
[262] or played games. There was no abstinence from meat. J.B. never heard of dogs being eaten; on one occasion some dogs were killed "because their barking scared away the ghosts [tawatsa]." The affair at Eshom lasted six nights.

The Wukchumni informant L. said she had
[184] participated in Ghost Dances at Kadawinao and Sohonto, Wobonuch villages. She insisted that all circular dances progressed clockwise.

796 M.L. said she was a small girl living at
668 the old Tule River Reservation near Porterville when a number of drunken Indians "mostly Mono"
177 came down and sang songs about the annihilation of the Indians.

CHUKAIMINA

[continued from p. 133a — Analyst]

● 131 as distinguished from Michahai save that Michahai claims were said to run west and southward from Squaw Valley to Drum Valley and to merge with Waksachi in the Murphy Creek region. The following localities P.M. pointed out from the height of his hilltop and I later identified them on U.S.G.S. Topographic Map, Dinuba Quadrangle, as best I could.

131 The following Chukaimina and Michahai sites are shown on Local Map C (map 4).

361

103
1. tolsi´hao (Michahai)
2. takša´myu (Michahai)
3. buči´hɨntao (Michahai)
4. ot'o´to
5. bo´kto: Pete Marlo's place
6. woto´no: site of present Squaw Valley grocery store

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[285] See ibid., fig. 2, b.

131 7. šu´lmao: Charlie Drake's place
361 8. kapa´no: long hill lying northeast to southwest on east side of valley
103 9. toi´yok: high peak northwest of no. 5
10. wiše´lao: hill between no. 5 and no. 9
11. wo´nyu: village site on flat
12. ţo´po: hill south of no. 4
13. kiwe´yu
14. soiyo´'o
15. wai´yo: seed-gathering camp
16. busuta´o: a "bald" hill
17. ka´lpo: an isolated hill

Not definitely located: 18, didɨ´pča: a spring near Jeff Long's ranch; 19, opnɨ´nyu: a Chukaimina campsite on Pughe's ranch; 20, po'o´lo: a Chukaimina summer camp on Bill Curtis's: [?] place; 21, maštɨ´nao: most important Chukaimina village.

592 The informant Mo. could recall only four houses and their inmates at Maštinao.

1. Mo.'s home; she lived there with her father and mother. She claimed her "brother and sister were already dead."

2. Mo.'s father's brother, Šo´'ok (Copperhead) lived alone. He had been married, for his son's daughter was mentioned as "Mike's wife."

3. Mo.'s father's sister, Meyu´lat, married Pu´lkos; their son was Pusɨnɨnwait (P.M.). [P.M. said his father was Toihitcha, a not contradictory statement.]

4. Mo.'s father's female cousin, Koi´yut, married a grandson of Pušlɨlɨn named Ai´jo (Jack); their daughter was Ai´nɨk (Lillie).

BIRTH AND INFANCY

843 The following information was entirely from Mo.

She said there were no prenatal tabus for the expectant Chukaimina mother or father.

844 Birth took place in the house. The mother was assisted by her own mother, sister, grandmother or, if none of her own kin were near by, some of her husband's women relatives would help. There was no rule. The woman squatted over a depression in the floor, and the attendant caught the baby on a basket tray (čo´pai). The cord was cut with a cane knife (si´kɨd) to about four inches in length; the end was turned back and tied with milkweed string. When the stump fell off, it "was made into a ball with beads" and hung on the hood of the second [789] cradle. After the child abandoned the cradle, the stump was put in an anthill so the child would become industrious.

846 A hot pit was prepared for the mother in her own house. A depression was filled with coals and hot ashes, then earth, then grass and mats laid over these. The mother remained on this for ten days but she rose every three or four hours for a renewal of the coals. For the

[P. 143 b]

choinimni

TERRITORY AND INTERTRIBAL RELATIONS

101 131 The Choinimni occupied land along Mill Creek from the junction of its north and south forks to its union with Kings River (see Local Map D). Above them on Mill Creek were the Entimbich, a mixed Yokuts and Mono tribe, and the Michahai, a basically Yokuts tribe who shared Squaw Valley with the Chukaimina Yokuts. From Sycamore Creek on Kings River, where Apa´wɨč was the Wobonuch frontier village, the Choinimni held both sides of Kings River as far west as Hughes Creek and perhaps a little beyond, where the Toihicha took up the north side of the river. On the south bank the Choinimni territory continued to Kipai´yu, their last village, which was fairly close to Centerville; there Aiticha land began on the south side and, on the opposite side, now somewhat west and south, were the Wechihit. This area is somewhat larger than that indicated on Kroeber's map.[1] The data for Mill Creek, I think, are wholly trustworthy: that is the locality P.D.W. knew best. His eastward extension to Sycamore Creek fits with Jeff Mayfield's statements for about 1850-1860.[2] On the west, Centerville as the eastward limit of Aiticha territory was a point on which P.D.W. was insistent; his location of Kipaiyu, however, may be incorrect, Kroeber's location being perhaps more exact. This still leaves it possible for the Choinimni to have dominated the river on the south side for some distance, that is, to about Centerville.

648 177 Prior to 1860 the social relations between the Yokuts and Western Mono were not so casually friendly, much less so intimate, as they have been in recent years since the two groups were forced into mutual contact by white domination of their country. In the 1850's
439 the Choinimni carried on trade, through a few individuals who seem to have been professional

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[1] Handbook, pl. 47.

[2] Latta, Uncle Jeff's Story, 15.

[P. 144]

Western Mono NS25

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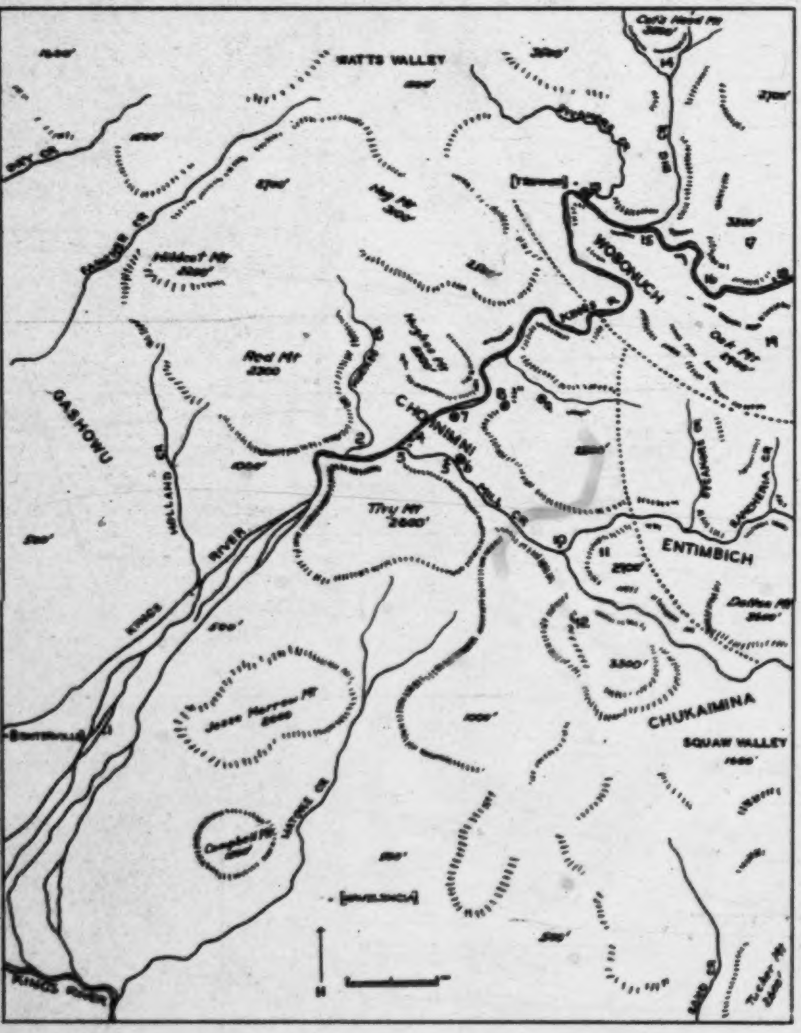
WATTS VALLEY
GASHOWU
CHOINIMNI
WOBONUCH
ENTIMBICH
CHUKAIMINA
SQUAW VALLEY
1600'
KINGS RIVER
KINGS RIVER
HOLLAND CR.
MILL CR.
SAND CR.
Red Mt
2300
Tivy Mt
2600'
Jesse Morrow Mt
Oak Mt
Dalton Mt
Tucker Mt
2100'
3300'
1000'
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Map 2. Local Map D: Choinimni and Neighboring Territory

[P. 1459] Choinimni

574 from the spring floods which would carry them
502 over impeding sand bars. About ten days were
484 required for the trip. Accompanying hunters
sometimes traveled afoot all day and joined the
group on the barges wherever they were moored
for the night. While at the lake, the foothill
[22 people engaged in fishing, bird snaring, rabbit
438] drives, and so on, and doubtless traded their
native products for local ones.[4]

726 P.D.W. had heard of but one "war," in which "all the Indians gathered at a flat near Centerville and then ran up back of Pine Ridge." No more coherent statement could be got: it suggests an occurrence under white pressure, perhaps in connection with the Ghost Dance.[5]

101 In referring to neighboring people, directional terms were generally applied when one did not wish to make reference to a specific tribe. Thus the Gashowu, Kechayi, Dumna to the north were called hoše´m. The Michahai, Chukaimina, and even Wukchumni were homti´nɨn, southerners. The term wa´kli'u was applied to the Toihicha and Wechihit on the west. The Wobonuch and Entimbich to the east were spoken of as nɔt. Collectively all Western Mono groups were referred to as nuta´wi or nutsa´wi (easterners, uplanders), just as were other mountaineers to the south, Tübatulabal (Pitanisha) by Paleuyami, Koyeti, etc.

823 Directions were spoken of spontaneously by P.D.W. and given unhesitatingly in the following order: hošo´mo (north); homtinɨn (south); wakli'u (west, possibly downstream); nɔt (east, mountainwards); ṭi´pɨn (up); atɨ´l (down).

Localities

131 Local Map D shows the following Choinimni and Wobonuch sites.

361

103 Choinimni sites:

1. kipai´yu: west terminus of Choinimni territory; Centerville
2. hoha´ltao: valley east of Piedra
3. hɨ'ha´šyu: cemetery for no. 4
4. tihe´ču: meaning "fish going up"; a fishing camp
5. wọhoi´nu: campsite
6. kuluša´o: an old large village
7. waša´mao: a village
8. yegwo´nyu: a village
9. lolo´nčụ: a village
10. mučeto´´o: a camp
11. wiše´lao: west terminus of Entimbich territory where they came for fish
12. wo'a´ltyu: northeastern terminus of Michahai territory
13. apa´wɨč: Trimmer Springs; west terminus of Wobonuch territory called by them wasa´mu

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[4] Ibid., 29, 30.

[5] Perhaps earlier, 1851, at the time of the Mariposa Battalion's forays.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P. 153 9] Dumna

DUMNA

TRIBES AND LOCALITIES

101 The informant B.W.'s notions of tribal locations were definite as to direction but 131 hazy and conflicting with other information on specific locus. He located neighboring tribes as follows.

The center of Tu´mna (Dumna) territory was at Millerton where their largest village (A´ťbu) was located. B.W. gives the word hoʼ as its name, and tciʼ as the Gashowu name: I interpret this not as a specific name but as the word for village, or possibly even tribe. The [622] chiefs at the Millerton rancheria were To´mkɨt (Tom Wilson, B.W.'s father), next We´sča, then Čokɨ´t. B.W. thinks there were as many as ten chiefs after his father, who died in B.W.'s boyhood.

Below the Dumna on the San Joaquin, and occupying both sides of the river, were the Hoi´yima (Hoyima), and beyond them the Tuko´yo (possibly Tokia, the Salinan or Chumash). Up the river from the Dumna were the Keče´yu (Kechayi). East of them, about a half-mile south of the San Joaquin River, were the Puški´ša (Posgisa), a Western Mono tribe. North of the Posgisa, on the North Fork of the San Joaquin were the Yaya´či (Yayanchi). Two contemporary chiefs there, in B.W.'s youth, were Ču´ičuʼi (Joijoi)[27] and Pine´wači. The Chukchansi were on Fresno River at Coarse Gold; two of their important chiefs were Kalo´masmɨn and Salo´knɨč. At the present town of Chowchilla were the Nu´tsču. And on the Fresno River at Madera were the Čauši´la (Chauchila) whose head man was Opa´mči. The Gaso´wu (Gashowu) were on the north side of Kings River, north of Centerville.

An additional comment was that "at Auberry the people were mixed 'Digger' [Yokuts] and Monachi [Mono]." Of people at Fresno Flat and Sycamore, B.W. could recall nothing. Any kind of people were collectively yoko´č, an individual man, no´no.

Localities

103 A long list of place names was given but only a few could be definitely located; con- 361 sequently they have not been mapped.

1. hoʼ: a Dumna village [a generic term, not a name ?]
2. tciʼ: a Gashowu village [a generic term, not a name ?]
3. tewa´nčo: old village site 1/2 mile west from B.W.'s house at Friant
4. čai´čiyu: old village site about 1 mile east from B.W.'s house

---

[27] The introducer of the Ghost Dance (Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870).

[P. 155a] Dumna

131 The type of country in which the Northern
175 Foothill Yokuts dwelt was praised by Major
Savage. He described it as land of the "Chow-
chillas," but in recent times Western Mono have
occupied the area and may have then.

131 This belt of country [Sandhill Crane
Valley on North Fork of the San Joaquin] beats
136 the region of the Yosemite or the Po-ho-no
Meadows for game, if the Indians tell the
175 truth; and with the exception of the Kern River
Country, it is the best south of the Tuolumne
River. It abounds in grizzly and cinnamon
bears, and there are some black bears Deer
are very plenty, and a good variety of crane,
grouse, quail, pigeons, road-runners, squirrels
and rabbits -- besides, in their season, water
fowl. This territory of the Chow-chillas has
137 plenty of black acorns (their favorite acorn),
and besides this there are plenty of other
175 supplies of bulbous roots.[37]

SHELTER, FOOD, IMPLEMENTS

343 Structures.--There were six different
sweat houses (mos) at B.W.'s Dumna village;
they were of different ages and sizes, two of
them in disrepair.[38] When a new sweat house
was completed, a "fandango" was given by the
[574] chief. B.W. could not describe this, save that
there was "plenty to eat and everybody had a
good time. Then they could sweat."

342 The houses (sa´mɨs), large and spherical,
were covered with "brush" thatch, not tule.

Foods and beverages.--Pine nuts (pa´san)
222 were obtained on trips up to the mountains or
262 were brought down for trade by the Kechayi.
The pine cone and pine tree were called ton;
pasan also meant the split pine cone.

Manzanita cider (a´pču) was made of the
252 ripe berries which were mashed and freed of
272 their seeds. The pulp was put in water for
several hours, then the liquid was strained
through a basket sieve. A hot tealike drink
(či´tɨl) was made by pouring hot water on the
pulp; the pulp, with a little water, was eaten
as a "mush" and called ča´pi. A thickening
material called ča´nɨt was pounded up and added
sometimes [čanɨt not identified].

Implements.--The plain bow (miko´n) was
411 made of pine, but was gotten by trade from the
Kechayi or Posgisa, as was also the sinew-
backed bow (piki´l). All kinds [sic] of arrows
were called tuyo´s.

412 A knife for scraping was made from the rib
bones of a deer or any other large animal.

For fishing, a hook (mike´) was made of
227 "some piece of bone which was boiled to make it
soft and then it was bent." This was used on
a string for angling [European introduction ?].
[262] Small fish eaten were: polhu´i, (sucker),
wɨsča´ (lamprey eel), and lu´pɨč (brook trout).

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[37] Quoted, ibid., 116.

[38] "Too old to be any good, just like I am now," said B.W.

[P. 175a] Kechayi, Chuckchansi

796 carried a long painted cane so people would recognize him.[77]

668 With great effort, particularly in transporting infants and goods across the San Joaquin River, the Kechayi and others journeyed toward Table Mountain, to a site called Šu´kši, a small hill opposite Auberry where there was a spring (the place called Soganiu by Wobonuch informants). This was about May, 1872. Many people were there: there was much confusion in camping and in finding provisions.[78] Chiefs and winatums urged people not to quarrel or they would "die" and would not meet "the father."

The dancing took place in the evening, from about sundown to midnight, with intervals of rest. Sleeping, morning bathing, and daytime behavior were normal. Meat was not tabu.

[778] The dancers circled clockwise to the accompaniment of singing and elderwood clapper. In the center was a pole (wo´kon) on top of

[Text continues top of P. 175b, --- Analyst]

CHUCKCHANSI

TERRITORY AND INTERTRIBAL RELATIONS

101 131 648 Concerning the range of Chukchansi territory, Kroeber states that they held Coarse Gold Creek and the head of Cottonwood Creek.[79] Their northern boundary, which marked the end of Yokuts and beginning of Miwok tribal holdings, was at the Fresno River. But their friendliness and intermarriage with Miwok made the boundary a lax one, with each tribe claiming settlements on both sides of the river. Aplau and Yiwisniu were Chukchansi settlements, and they also held Hapasau near Fresno Flats as well as Chukchanau up on Fresno River. Miss Thrall lists the following sites named by her informants N.W., J.R., and C.D.

101 131 103

lulniu: Oakhurst, an old village site, the western boundary of the Chukchansi

gratniu: Picayune (N.W.), an old village site with only one sweat house

kat'an•u: Picayune (J.R.)

dalinao: a settlement where many Chukchansi had lived

dočimilpao: a settlement

baonaiu: a settlement

[Text continues Middle P. 175b]

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[648] [77] Feelings on the west slope of the Sierra Nevada were hostile to the Paiute and Eastern Mono at that time.

[78] E.M. claimed dog meat was eaten there for the first time under pressure of starvation (see Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, 72); again her statement may have been a "prestige denial."

[79] Handbook, 481-482. Power's statement (Tribes of California, 370) that the Chukchansi were on the San Joaquin River between Whiskey Creek and Millerton does not agree with recent findings. Of course, it is quite possible that the Chukchansi have suffered some displacement and entirely probable that they had salmon-fishing privileges along the San Joaquin. -- A.H.G.

[P. 175b] Kechayi
Chuckchans,

796 which was a large bead-trimmed basket. This 668 basket "held the power" of the dancers, but had [778] no curing power to revive persons who fell unconscious. The pole was not used at later [Kechayi] dances. This first dance was called ha´lo, but the term was not used thereafter.

[302 616] The dancers all used moiety paint patterns on their faces.

The affair continued five nights, and on the sixth day they danced all day and night. At this time Joijoi, with two men and three women, dressed and danced in a peculiar manner in an attempt to convince the assemblage that they were the returning dead. The hoax, though quickly discovered, was not resented. Nor was the nonappearance of the dead resented, thinks E.M.

After their return home a few dances were held in various villages.

CHUCKCHANSI

101 wehil: Grub Gulch, a village with a captain was there
103 č'ič'ani: Quartz Mountain
●131 t'oxolo: a place east of Raymond, at the foot of the hills, on the Fresno River
kasowu: Friant (the locality or the people, Gashowu?)
nipnoaši: a Miwok site 3 or 4 miles north or east of Ahwahnee

101 131 The Chukchansi lived at Coarse Gold, Picayune, and as far west as Oakhurst; beyond that was another tribe. Everybody at Lulniu (Oakhurst) is now dead, said M.W. The Chukchansi people went as far north as Yosemite, Southern Miwok territory, said J.R., although none lived permanently north of the Fresno River, unless married to Miwok. Southward they went no farther than Friant, Gashowu territory. If they went to a place, they came directly home again, did not go traveling around. "They don't travel very much, very far. When people go after something, when they get it they come [152 186] straight home. They got home, here, this is their home." [J.R. thus expressed the strong feeling for a home spot or locale manifest by other Yokuts. -- A.H.G.]

166 222 People would move around, perhaps two or three miles for the summer and come back for the winter. They went up in the mountains to get berries or seeds, always going to the same place on which they had a traditional claim. "When white people came they got everything mixed up."

For pine nuts, hazel nuts, and a superior type of elderberry people went far up into the mountains. This trip was made about August and camps were established, as entire families went.

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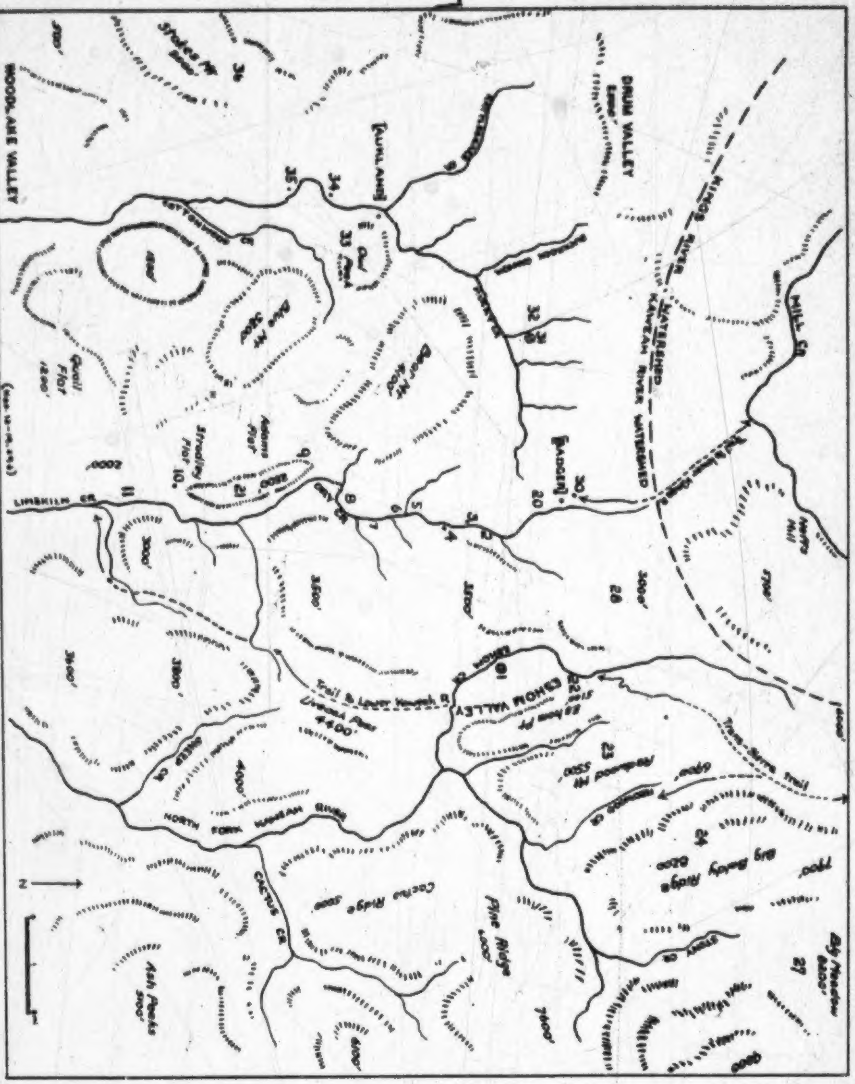
1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P. 212]

Western Mono NS25


MILL CR.
Neff's Mill
5700'
KINGS RIVER WATERSHED
KAWEAH RIVER WATERSHED
DRUM VALLEY
3000'
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[BADGER]
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Owl Peak
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Stokes Mt
500'
WOODLAKE VALLEY
Bear Mt 4100'
Blue Mt 3800'
1880'
Adams Flat
Stradley Flat
9
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2000'
Quail Flat 1200'
LIMEKILN CR.
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3500'
3500'
3000'
3800'
3600'
ESHOM VALLEY
22
23
24
27
Redwood Cr.
Big Baldy Ridge 8200'
7900'
Big Meadow 8200'
Stony Cr.
8000'
7600'
Pine Ridge 6000'
Cactus Ridge 5000'
CACTUS CR.
6100'
NORTH FORK KAWEAH RIVER
SHEEP CR.
4000'
Trail to Lower Kaweah R.
4400'
Ash Peaks 5100'
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Map 3. Local Map E: Waksachi Territory

[p. 213 b] Western Mono NS25

TERRITORY AND INTERTRIBAL RELATIONS

Localities

● Y M 101 ● 131

The locations of tribes known to B.O. follow. His renderings are given in brackets when they differ from the forms established by Kroeber.

Nutunutu: close to Kingston
Wechihit [we´čihət]: close to Centerville
Kocheyali (Aiticha) [kuče´li]: northeast of Wechihit
Gashowu [ka´šuwi·ša]: south of the San Joaquin River
Choinimni [čoinü´mni]: mouth of Mill Creek
Chukaimina: Squaw Valley
Michahai: between Choinimni and Chukaimina
Entimbich [a´ntɨmpɨč]: Dunlap
Wobonuch [wu´punuč]: east of Dunlap

Three terms which B.O. claimed were names of tribes but which have an ending comparable to the Yokuts pa'an (see below) are:

a´pusowi´'ɨtunü´'üm: Toll House
huro´gɨčnü´'üm: southeast of last
yui´ninü´'üm: south of last

Y M 773 103 131

Each tribe had a theoretical ancestral home, consisting of one or more villages, referred to as pa'an. "When Eagle made the world he named every hill and put people on those spots. They were the first birds and animals; later he made one pair [of humans] for each place." Those places S.O. could name were:

Chukaimina: to'o´ču
Michahai: pa´lnao (Rock Hill, unlocated by recorder)
Wukchumni: gutsnu´mi; dai'apnu´ša
Telamni: "at Visalia" (informant didn't know name of their pa'an)
Gawia: češɨ´yu (hill near Cutler, Stokes Mountain)
Waksachi: tusa´o; čita´tu
Entimbich: kečai´yu (Dunlap)
Wobonuch: kada´winao; sitɨ´minao (old sites)
Wobonuch: koiwa´nyu (Samson Flat, new site)

Y M 101

Camping sites, even when definitely within tribal boundaries, were not considered as pa'an.

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their houses at home and built temporary shelters at the campsite. The possessions taken were rabbitskin blankets, all basket utensils, both large and small cook pots, mush-stirrers and shelled acorns. Mortars were not taken, as they were rarely used save in the absence of the bedrock mortar; cooking stones were picked up anywhere. The paraphernalia packed in carrying nets by the men were the blankets and pots; women put their baskets and acorns in burden baskets. Infants might be carried by either parent atop the load, never in the arms. Babies were also carried in their cradles by older sisters while the mothers carried burdens.

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[854]

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S.O.'s statement that there was no privately owned land or gathering-places is, I think, over-generalized. Certainly there were no rigidly defined limits, but the fact that a bride returned to her mother's gathering-place rather than going to her mother-in-law's or, better yet, gathering where she would, indicates at least a tendency toward personal association with a gathering-place, if not indisputable proprietary rights. (See Aerie Ownership.)

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● 131
361

The sites named first by B.O. follow the route to Gaines Flat (nos. 1 to 19); thereafter come more random outposts to the east and north (see Map 3; Local Map E).

1. čita´tu: the main Waksachi village, tribal home or center
2. mosa´o: Rucker Flat
3. pinətsa´kowei: next camp south
4. tupaha´na: next camp south
5. hopuru´howa: Reed's place
6. kako´wa: Bill Hart's place
7. pasio´kiwi: Mel Osborn's place
8. mi’i´ñwi: Hunt's winter range, "Ranchería Flat"
9. koiwə´niu: hill by Adams Flat [possibly Sugarloaf]

9a. tåveto´ri: Buzzard Roost, by Adams Flat, not located definitely

10. koiña´wasiu: camp south of Adams Flat
11. takika´puwi: gap going toward Gaines Flat
12. waja´’unasako·nyap: a place just east of Gaines Flat
13. kama: an intervening spot en route (not definitely located)
14. tsawige´wa: Red Hill, above Gaines Flat
15. taka´ñwi: Buckeye Flat, near Bones Cañon
16. tupa´puwi: near Buckeye Flat
17. kotiša´o: foot of hill next to Gaines Flat
18. atitra´o: Gaines Flat, the campsite there
19. ničina´o: Karlburn Point [?], a hill near Gaines Flat on which tobacco grew abundantly. This was the edge of Gawia territory and the southern limit of the Waksachi range.
20. tso´hom: high hill south of Badger
21. (omitted)

[P. 214 b] Western Mono NS25

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103
● 131
361

22. na´'an: hill above Hershberger Ranch

23. woho´naga´tiri: Redwood Mountain. This is the only name said to have a meaning (lit., redwood mountain), but that this should be the only one seems dubious.

24. tipa´čivo·no: Old Baldy Mountain [Big Baldy Ridge]

25. penama´ti: "a big rock north of the sawtooth crags." Not located, possibly Buck Rock

26. paso´'owi: camp at Black Ox Springs, not located

27. pa´čiata·wi: Big Meadows

28. pasiwa´na: John Crow's Hollow, where men went for arrow canes

29. warosa´giti: twin peaks in the Gawia plain

30. koiwoi´'iu: Badger

31. kiču´'u: Ash Springs

32. tuša´o: "salty water," near Ash Springs

33. wiwa´nao: Owl Mountain

34. tulna´o: fish camp

35. o´polo'o: meaning "in the sun"; fish camp

36. mučati´': Stokes Mountain

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There are two big peaks in the mountains, says B.O., called Pa´^{u}wijwiyu (Map 5: Local Map G, no. 2, Obelisk) and Kai´binum (Cyclone) (no. 11, Buck Rock). The former is elder brother to the latter. Kaibinum, the younger, said to his brother, "Let's take off our shirts and fight!" At this Pa^{u}wijwiyu pulled off his shirt, but the challenger merely shook himself and pulled his shirt up in preparation to removing it. Both brothers shook their bodies, but young Kaibinum did not get his shirt off in time and his older brother hit him with his club. Kaibinum, a smaller rock than his brother, kills deer and drops them down into the canyon below. (California Tehipite Quadrangle Topographic map shows Buck Rock as 1200 feet lower than Obelisk.) The same story was related by the Wobonuch informant, G.D., but with the relative ages reversed.

Trade

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439

Trading was carried on with the Eastern Mono (yo´'owəts), who came over the Sierra Nevada and down to Eshom Valley by means of a trail which came through a pass just north of Old Baldy, down Redwood Cañon, across Pierce Valley, and into Eshom to Čitatu. From there the traders would go on down Dry Creek, following the Waksachi route, to the Wukchumni and Gawia. About a dozen of the Eastern Mono would come as a group. Women sometimes came with them to sell baskets, which were considered finer than the local Waksachi ones. An occasional woman would bring her entire family and stay the winter. While some local man might live with her, she would not be taken to wife and would return home in the summer when

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NS29 Yokuts NS29

Mill Creek and Kings River. Such groups, save for their distinctive speech, would be indistinguishable from the village communities of their neighbors if the purely local designations of the latter were replaced by appellations for the people themselves. Still fainter is the line of demarcation when the Choinimni, for instance, are called, as occasionally happens, Tishechuchi after their town Tishechu; but such terms are rare among the Yokuts. 101

For other tribes a principal and several subsidiary abodes are specified; thus the Paleuyami are identified with Altau and sometimes called Altinin, but lived also at Bekiu, Shikidapau, Holmiu, and other places. The Hometwoli lived at three principal sites, and the Chukchansi, Tachi, Yauelmani, and others dwelt from time to time, and perhaps simultaneously, at a number of places scattered over a considerable tract. These instances confirm the Yokuts divisions as true tribes.

Fully half the Yokuts tribal names end either in -amni, found also as -imni, -mina, -mani; or in -chi. The former suffix recurs added to place names among the Plains Miwok to designate the inhabitants of such and such spots, and among the Maidu as an ending of village names; the latter among the southern Miwok with the significance "people of." But the subtraction of either of these endings from the names of Yokuts tribes usually leaves only meaningless syllables; and in general the people themselves are well content to employ their little national designations without inquiring what they may denote. The few etymologies which they have ventured in response to inquiries are obviously naive and unhistorical. [192]

HABITAT.

The home of the Yokuts was the San Joaquin Valley, the entire floor of which they held, from the mouth of the river to the foot of Tehachapi Pass. In addition, they occupied the adjacent lower slopes or foothills of the Sierra Nevada, up to an altitude of a few thousand feet, from Fresno River south, but nowhere to the north of that stream. The San Joaquin River proper flows down only the lower half of the length of the valley. Above it, Kings and then Kern River also break westward from the high mountains and the latter turns north into the treeless plains. Kern River drained into Tulare Lake, formerly a large, shallow basin of water surrounded by an even more extensive tract of swamp of tules, as two or three species of rush are locally known. The swamps are now reclaimed and much of the lake is normally dry and its area under cultivation. For most of the year, formerly, the evaporation over this immense sheet sufficed to equal the intake from Kern River and other streams; in time of flood the lake might drain north through Fish Slough into Kings River. This latter stream itself, though of considerable 101 131 133 [132]

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NS29 Yokuts NS29

133 volume, was nearly lost in a lengthy area of swamp, whence its waters seem normally to have flowed backward into Tulare Lake. It seems that Kings River and Tulare Lake drained into the San Joaquin at no remote time, since the lake is fresh. The San Joaquin, from the point where it reached the central axis of the valley and perhaps once took in the excess discharge of Kings and Kern Rivers, was also bordered pretty continuously by tule swamps, though of less width than to the south. Hence the Spanish name "Los Tulares" for the low-lying portion of the valley and "Rio de los Tulares" for the stream, though by the latter term they understood the main line of the entire drainage system rather than its lower, more northerly portion alone, to which we, with greater precision but more arbitrary logic, restrict the name San Joaquin. [101] Hence also the appellation Tulareños, under which they consistently and appropriately knew the Yokuts. (Pl. 47.)

The eastern side of the level valley is traversed by streams from the Sierra Nevada. A dozen or so of these merit the name "river." The west side of the valley, however, on the lee of the rather low and barren Mount Diablo Coast Range, is arid; and not even one permanent stream of any size whatever reaches the central river system from this left hand. The overwhelming bulk of the American population is on the east side. The dispersion of the Yokuts was, ● 131 if anything, even more unilateral. In the whole upper valley, in which the distribution of the Yokuts groups is pretty accurately known, there were only two tribes, the Tulamni and Tachi, in the large tract west of Tulare Lake and Kings River; and even of these [484 two the Tachi preferred to cross to the east side when summer and 221] autumn dried the overflowed lands and rendered their winter habitat a virtual desert.

101 Along the west of the San Joaquin we have less certain knowledge. This territory seems to have belonged to the Yokuts, though in default of precise information it has sometimes been attributed to the Costanoan people or to the Miwok. This very doubt indicates an unimportant occupation; and while the area was almost certainly visited by the Yokuts, and probably claimed by one or more of their northerly tribes, the number of residents must also have been very few.

133 The flow of Sierra rivers of approximately equal length is ever less toward the south, so that Yokuts streams are smaller than those in Miwok territory and much smaller than those occupied by the Maidu. The run-off in millions of acre-feet is approximately as follows. Yokuts: Kern, ¾; Kaweah, ½; Kings, 2; San Joaquin, 2. Miwok: Merced, 1¼; Tuolumne, 2; Stanislaus, 1½; Mokelumne, 1. Maidu: American, 3¾; Yuba, 3¼; Feather, at Oroville, 6; the Sacramento at Red Bluff, above the Feather, 10½, most of it from the Pit. Even a short affluent of the Pit, Fall River, the habitat of one Achomawi division, carries about a million acre-feet, or more than the lengthy Kern or Kaweah.

101 197 The northern group of tribes in the foothill division are those living on the San Joaquin where this stream still pursues a southwesterly course before turning into the main line of the valley. Their dialects are very similar to those of the adjacent northern valley tribes; so much so that they could almost be reckoned as of one group with them were it not that the more and more insistent divergence of all subsequent foothill dialects draws these northernmost idioms into the distinctive hill class. This comparative indeterminateness between the speech of the northern hills and plains is paralleled in the topography. Along the San Joaquin and to the north, the perfectly flat valley shades imperceptibly into the gentlest undulations, which swell and magnify into long low hillocks, until the foothills proper are gradually reached.

From Kings River south the transition from plain to foothills is abrupt, a single step often being literally sufficient to carry one from one area into the other. This means that the physiography is sharply distinct, and that the native modes of life, with their direct adaptation to the soil, can not be identical. It is therefore not surprising that the Kings River group of foothill dialects is well marked off from the adjacent southern valley group.

The Tule-Kaweah group comprises the idioms on these two streams, with which the foothill portion of Deer Creek must be included.

The Poso Creek group of dialects covers not only this stream but White River to the north and a section of Kern River to the south.

With the Buena Vista group, finally, the greatest departure from average Yokuts speech is attained, but, as already mentioned, the foothill habitat of the remainder of the division was abandoned, at least in historic times.

Here follow the names of the Yokuts tribes, their habitats, and their principal known villages. The sequence is from foothills to valley and from south to north, the reverse of that just pursued, in order to allow of procedure from the better to the less known.

TRIBES OF THE BUENA VISTA GROUP OF THE FOOTHILL DIVISION.

101 131 [103] The Tulamni (plural Tulalmina) were the tribe in possession of Buena Vista Lake, at some point on whose western or northwestern shore where the hills come close to the water was their main settlement Tulamniu, "Tulamni-place." From there they ranged westward to Wogitiu in the vicinity of McKittrick. (Pl. 47.)

[103] On Kern Lake were the Hometwoli or Humetwadi. This name means "southerners" and is a variant of the common term Homtinin applied by any Yokuts to those of their neighbors who live to the south. The true tribal designation of the Hometwoli has been forgotten. They inhabited at least three principal sites: Halau near the entrance of Kern River into the channel connecting Kern and Buena Vista Lakes; Loasau, somewhere on the north side of Kern Lake; and Pohalin Tinliu (meaning "ground squirrels' hole") in Yauelmani, or Sihetal Daal in the Hometwoli dialect itself, on the south shore.

[94] [103] The Tuhohi, Tohohai, or Tuhohayi (the *t* is almost like English *tr*) are extinct. They are said to have spoken a dialect similar to Tulamni and Hometwoli, and to have lived among the channels and tule-lined sloughs of lower Kern River where these became lost in Tulare Lake. They may have ranged as far as Goose Lake. Their principal habitation is spoken of as Tahayu, "Tuhohi-place."

114 115 A little mystery may be dispelled here. Stephen Powers found among the Yauelmani one old man, the survivor of a tribe that had once lived on Kern

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NS29 Yokuts NS29

Lake, and whose numerals, and therefore speech, he recognized as distinctively 114
non-Yokuts. Inquiry proves that the survivor had been at one of the missions, had there learned more or less Salinan, and that some of its vocables suggested 115
to him Yokuts words of entirely different meaning. He used to regale his friends with accounts of his travels; and his rattling off the Salinan count as a meaningless string of Yokuts words became a well-known entertainment; much as we might amuse a child with a tale of a strange people called the Spanish who counted "You-know, toes, tray, quarrel." Here are the Salinan originals and his puns:

kitol, kishile	kile.
kakichu	choyochi.
lapai	uyatsi.
kicha	chuichau (a place name).
olchat, ulchao	lopchin-tinliu (at the fish hole).
painel, payat	pokoichin-tinliu.
te, tepa	tuhtu.
sanel	pusin-tinliu (at the dog's hole).
tetatsoi	hosche.
tsoe	chiwa.

TRIBES OF THE POSO CREEK GROUP OF THE FOOTHILL DIVISION.

The Paleuyami, Padeuyami, Peleuyi, or, as they were called by their Shoshonean 101
neighbors, Paluyam, had their headquarters in the hills beside Poso Creek,
especially at Altau ("salt-grass place"), which lay just south of this stream 131
about as far up in the hills as K'ono-ilkin or Kern Falls, to which place, and adjacent sites on Kern River, they, as well as the Yauelmani of the valley,
appear to have come. They had also Bekiu and Shikidapau (*shikid*, "arrow") [103]
in Poso Flat, and Holmiu in Linn's Valley.

The Kumachisi, Komechesi, Kometsiosi, or Kumachesi (plural Kumachwadi) centered about Hoschiu on White River. They were sometimes known as the Small Paleuyami, the Altinin of Altau being the Great Paleuyami. Some informants identify them with the obscure Shoshonean tribe called the Giamina, whose habitat is said to have been in or near the Paleuyami terri-
tory. The majority of the Kumachisi probably knew more than one language; [191
as to whether their native dialect was of the Paleuyami type, or of the valley 197]
division, or indeed not Yokuts at all but Shoshonean, there is no certain evidence.

TRIBES OF THE TULE-KAWEAH GROUP OF THE FOOTHILL DIVISION.

The Yaudanchi or Yaulanchi (plural Yauedchani or Yawilchini), also called Nutaa (plural Nuchawayi), "easterners, uplanders"—whence Garcés's generic designation of the Yokuts as Noche—held Tule River in the foothills, especially
the North and Middle Forks. One of their principal winter quarters was [103]
Shawahtau, above Springville. Near by was Ukunui ("drink"); and house pits at Uchiyingetau ("markings") at the painted rocks, and at Tungoshud ("gate") near the agency, on Tule River Reservation, hark back to either
Yaudanchi or Bokninuwad occupancy. In spring and early summer they gathered [221]
seeds in the vicinity of Lindsay; in late summer or fall they met with other tribes in Koyeti territory about Porterville for fishing and elk hunting. In dry and hungry seasons the southern end of Tulare Lake would be frequented in search of tule roots. All the Yokuts tribes from the Kaweah River

131 All the Yokuts tribes from the Kaweah River
101 south, except perhaps the Wowol and Chunut of Tulare Lake, and at least most
619 of the adjacent Shoshoneans, were friendly and appear to have ranged over one another's territory amicably and almost at will. The northern Yokuts were
[578] more divided by distrusts and hostilities; definite intertribal boundaries are known in several cases; and southern tradition speaks of invading war parties from the north.

101 131 The Bokninuwad or Bokninwal (plural Bokenwadi), Garcés's Pagninoas, are in native opinion so named because they had a habit of not returning to their owners lost articles that they encountered (*bok*, "find"). They appear to have been a smaller tribe than the neighboring and similar Yaudanchi. Deer Creek, in the foothills, was their habitat. Here they lived at K'eyau, near [103] the valley, and perhaps at Hoin Tiniu ("deer's hole"), farther up, not far from Deer Creek Hot Springs, though the Shoshonean Bankalachi seem also to have frequented the region of the latter. The southern forks of Tule River, including the present reservation, were in customary Bokninuwad range.

The Wükchamni, Wikchamni, or Wikchomni (plural Wükachmina or Wikatsmina), whose name was a byword for "gluttons," and who may be the Buesanet of Garcés, wintered on Kaweah River near Lemon Cove and Iron Bridge and frequented the adjacent hills in summer.

The Yokod or Yokol (plural Yuwekadi) had their principal village a dozen miles below the Wükchamni, on a flat near Kaweah railroad station, on the south side of Kaweah River, north of Exeter. Their summer range met that of the Yaudanchi about Lindsay.

The Gawia or Kawia (plural Gaweyayi or Kaweyayi), from whom Kaweah River takes its name, lived at a hill on the north side of the stream, opposite the Yokod. Their recognized northward range included Chidepuish, Calvin Hill, on Big Dry or Rattlesnake Creek. They seem to be the people whom Garcés calls Coguifa.

TRIBES OF THE KINGS RIVER GROUP OF THE FOOTHILL DIVISION.

In this coterie the Choinimni survive to-day in the greatest, although much reduced, numbers. They were perhaps also the most populous before the white [103] man came. Their village was the before-mentioned Tishechu, said to mean "at the gate," a place of some importance on the south side of Kings River at the mouth of Mill Creek.

The Choinimni were the Yokuts farthest up Kings River proper, Mono territory beginning some miles beyond Tishechu. Next up Mill Creek were the [103] Michahai (plural Michahaisha or Michayisa), at Hehshinau, on the north side of the stream, on a flat at the foot of the pine-covered ridge.

Up a small affluent of Mill Creek from the south, in Squaw Valley, some [103] 6 miles from Hehshinau, were the Chukaimina (plural Chokoyemi). These lived at Dochiu and Mashtinau, at the north and east sides of the circular valley.

Up Mill Creek, at Kicheyu near Dunlap, and at another site known as Chit'atichi ("clover"), were the Entimbich or Indimbich (plural Enatbicha or [103] Inadbicha). These, neighbors of the Shoshonean Wobonuch, have sometimes also been classed as Monos; but a vocabulary of their dialect establishes them as Yokuts.

[103] Below the Choinimni on Kings River, but on the opposite side, were the Toihicha (plural Toyehachi). They lived at Tanaiu ("Jimson weed place"), at Hughes Creek, and at Bochiptau.

Still farther down Kings River, but this time on the south side, were the Aiticha, Aitecha, Aititsa, Aigicha, or Ai'kicha (plural Aiyetatsi or Aiyekachi). [103] Their village was K'ipayu, somewhat nearer to Centerville than to Tishechu.

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NS29 Yokuts NS29

Kocheyali is mentioned by some of the Yokuts as another name for the Aiticha. This is not, however, their unanimous verdict. Two designations for a single tribe are also without parallel, apart from duplicate appellations based on names of places or terms of direction. There may therefore have been a distinct Kocheyali tribe in this vicinity. 101 131

With the Gashowu (plural Gashwusha) Big Dry Creek, losing itself in the plain near Fresno, and Little Dry Creek, draining into the San Joaquin, are reached. The Gashowu dialect also differs somewhat from the idioms of the Kings River group and approaches correspondingly to those of the northern foothill or San Joaquin group; but its general affinities are still with the former. [197] The Chukchansi, for instance, complain of difficulty in understanding Gashowu, which fact, since their own idiom is very similar to Dumna, which in turn was spoken only a few miles from the Gashowu of Little Dry Creek, is significant. The Gashowu ranged to Fresno to gather seeds in spring or summer. Old maps show two Indian rancherias. One of these can be identified with Pohoniu, below Letcher on Big Dry Creek. On Little Dry Creek were Yokau in Auberry Valley, near Opnoniu, and Ochopou, the latter attributed also to the Kechayi. [103]

TRIBES OF THE NORTHERN GROUP OF THE FOOTHILL DIVISION.

The Toltichi (plural Toletachi), the "stream people," were the Yokuts tribe farthest up the San Joaquin and neighbors of the Mono. They are extinct. The recorded fragments of their speech show many distortions, not only from northern foothill but from all forms of Yokuts. It is doubtful whether these divergencies are due to faulty recollection or are real modications caused by prolonged contact of a small and remote mountain group with people of alien language, as in the case of the Paleuyami. It is even conceivable that the Toltichi were Monos, who mispronounced the Yokuts which many of them had partly learned. Tsopotipau, at the electric power site on the large bend of the river below the entrance of the North Fork, was Toltichi. [197]

The Kechayi (plural Keche'wali or Kichainawi) had the south bank of the San Joaquin for some miles above Millerton. A settlement of theirs upstream from this abandoned town and fort was Kochoyu, which seems to mean nothing more than "Kechayi place." Farther up they lived at Kowichkowicho. Below the Kechayi were the Wakichi, a tribe of the valley division. 101 103 131

The Dumna (plural Dumanisha) were on the north side of the San Joaquin, about opposite the Kechayi. Their range took in the country opposite Millerton; Table Mountain; the mouth of Fine Gold Creek; and Bellevue, which they called Dinishneu.

The Dalinchi (plural Da'einashi) were a little off the San Joaquin. Fine Gold Creek was their territory. Here they inhabited Moloneu; also O'Neals. Dalinau, "Dalinchi place," was over the divide in the Coarse Gold Creek drainage.

The Chukchansi, Shukshansi, or Shukshanchi (plural Chukadnisha) held Coarse Gold Creek, an affluent of Fresno River, and the head of Cottonwood Creek. They are the northernmost of all the foothill tribes, and their border, Fresno River, where they adjoined the Miwok, was the farthest limit of all the hill Yokuts. They appear to have moved and scattered considerably, and, being on friendly terms with their Miwok neighbors, to have had no hesitation in entering their territory. This is probably the reason why the modern Chukchansi list among their settlements certain places across the Fresno River, such as Aplau and Yiwisniu, whereas actually it was the Miwok who [648]

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NS29 Yokuts NS29

101 seem to have owned a small tract on the south side of the stream. Hapasau,
103 near Fresno Flats, was, however, Chukchansi. Also well up on Fresno River
was Chukchanau or Suksanau, "Chukchansi place." On Coarse Gold Creek
131 they inhabited Tsuloniu, near the headwaters; Kowoniu or Kohoniu, on Picayune Creek; Kataniu, the present Picayune rancheria, where the majority of the survivors dwell; and, on Cottonwood Creek, they lived at Ch'eyau, "bone place," near Bates.

It is possible that place names like Kochoy-u, Dalin-au, Chukchan-au are original and that the tribal names Kechayi, Dalinchi, and Chukchanchi are derived from them. However, none of these place names yield to etymology, whereas many that are not related to tribal names do have meanings.

TRIBES OF THE SOUTHERN GROUP OF THE VALLEY DIVISION.

The Yauelmani, Ya'welmani, Yowelmani, Yowenmani, Yowedmani, which forms appear to be the plural of Yaulamni or Yaudimni, perhaps number more survivors to-day than any other Yokuts tribe. Their ancient range was extensive. They held Tinliu ("at the hole") on Paso Creek below the Tejon ranch house—perhaps the most southerly of all Yokuts settlements. This must have been a favorite abode, since it gave them the appellation Tinlinin, which, together with "Tejoneños," is still used as a synonym of Yauelmani. With this spot went ownership of the lower courses of Tejon and other near-by streams. Thirty or more miles to the north they held Woilo ("planting place," "sowing
[177] place"—the name was given after mission influences began to reach them), on the site of the town of Bakersfield. Up Kern River they lived at times at K'ono-ilkin ("water's fall") and at Shoko ("wind place," in a gorge), above which began the territory of the Tübatulabal, whom they knew as Pitanisha. These spots were also frequented by the Paleuyami across the divide on near-by Poso Creek, and it is not certain which tribe laid claim of ownership to them. A short distance above Bakersfield in the first foothills was Taineuhiu ("at the shades" or "ramada place"), not permanently inhabited, but a favorite day resting place between night journeys in the summer; while below the city, on one of the channels of the river draining toward Kern Lake, was Kuyo. The Yauelmani are also mentioned as at Altau with the Paleuyami, at Hoschiu on White River with the Kumachisi, and at Chididiknawasi in the Deer Creek country—all places above the valley. It is therefore not surprising that there
[582] are old Indians, born, before the coming of the Americans, of a Yauelmani parent married to a Yaudanchi or Wowol partner. Unions with the Shoshonean Kitanemuk to the south and Bankalachi to the north also occurred.

The Koyeti or Kuyeti (plural Koyetati or Kuyetwadi), now extinct, seem to have been a smaller tribe of almost identical speech with the Yauelmani. They held the swampy sloughs of Tule River from Chokowisho, Porterville, down; this tract being known as Kiawitnau.

The Choinok (plural Choyenaki), the Choinoc of Garcés and Cabot, another small group, were the southernmost of three tribes in the flaring, slough-intersected delta of the Kaweah. They lived south of Tulare City and below Farmersville, probably on Deep and Outside Channels, in which region their town of Ch'iuta may be looked for.

The Wo'lasi or Wo'ladji (plural Wowulasi, Wowelasi, Wowlasi) were north of the Choinok, at and below Farmersville, perhaps on Cameron Channel. This small tribe must not be confused with the more prominent Wowol (plural Wowowoli) of Tulare Lake.

The Telamni, Telomni, Tedamni (plural Tielami, Tielamni, Tiedami, Tiedamni, or Teyelamni), the "Telam or Torim" of Garcés and Telame of the

131

missions, were northwest of the Wo'lasi, at Visalia and Goshen. 101 Among their settlements was Waitatshulul, some 7 miles north of Tulare City. 103 Here for the first time we hear of fixed tribal boundaries. [423] The Telamni, Wo'lasi, and Choinok did not pass over Cross Creek, the northernmost slough fed from the Kaweah, without encountering the hostility of the Nutunutu.

The valley tribes on Kings River appear to have been at least as large as those on the Kaweah, but they have died out almost as completely. At Centerville, also known as King River, at Sanger, and toward Reedley, were the Wechihit, Wechahet, or Wetehit (plural Wichehati). At Musahau, in the low bottoms, between the middle and east channels opposite Sanger, one or two survive near an ancient village site. Wewayo, on Wahtoke Creek, seems to have been a no-man's-land so far as tribal ownership went, but was at any rate visited by the Wechihit. A Wahtoke "tribe," formerly mentioned in this vicinity, was given that designation, which means "pine nut," by the Americans from the name of the chief of the band.

The Nutunutu or Nutuntu (plural Nutantisha) were south of lower Kings River, in a country formerly a mass of sloughs and swamps. Armona, Hanford, and Kingston were their territory; a little south of the latter was their village Chiau. Hibek'ia, where they also lived, can not be exactly located. Their name is puzzling. It probably goes back to the root *not*, upstream (compare the Nuta'a, or uplanders, the mountain Mono or hill Yokuts in general); yet the Nutunutu were certainly a downstream people, if there were any, to all their neighbors except possibly the Tachi.

The Wimilchi (plural Wimelachi) were separated by Kings River from the Nutunutu—and apparently without friendship—much as these kept Cross Creek as a barrier against the Telamni. The Wimilchi in turn observed Fish Slough, connecting Kings River and Tulare Lake, as a boundary against the Tachi. They had Lillis and Laton, and Cold and Murphy Sloughs; and in general seem to have occupied the whole of the Laguna de Tache land grant, though this was named after their better known western neighbors. Ugona was a Wimilchi town.

Tulare Lake and its shores are stated by all the Yokuts to have belonged to three tribes and three only, all of them large and warlike, though not always friendly to one another. These were, in order from south to north, the Wowol, Chunut, and Tachi.

The Wowol, Wowod, Wowal, or Wo'wal (plural Wowowoli, Wowowadi, Wowowali, or Wu'wo'wali) are the Bubol, Hubol, and perhaps Tuohuala of the Spaniards. They are not to be confounded with the Wo'lasi (plural Wowulasi) of Kaweah River. They are said, in a characteristically picturesque but probably unreliable native explanation, to have derived their name from standing ("*wowul*") in rows and lousing each other. [501] Of more intrinsic interest is the fact that they lived on an island off the east shore of the lake, from which they had to cross on their tule rafts to the timbered or brushy stream outlets on the mainland to obtain firewood. This island is said to have been due west of the present Delano, which identifies it with Atwells Island, where old maps show an Indian rancheria on the lake shore. This settlement was called Sukuwutnu, Shukwatnau, or Shugudnu; the name Dulau has also been given it.

The settlement or settlements Miketsiu and Chuntau of the Chunut (plural Chunotachi or Chunotati) can be less exactly located, but the tribal range was the Tulare Lake shore in the Kaweah Delta region. Spanish sources refer to them as Sumtache and Tunctache. These people seem to have penetrated freely up the sloughs. Cross Creek was their northern boundary, as of

2: Kroeber: E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

101 the Telamni, against the Tachi and Nutunutu, a fact that argues close association
103 between them and their upstream neighbors of the Kaweah.

The Tachi, Tadji, or Dachi (plural Tachechayi, Tadjedjayi, Dachechayi,
131 Tatsetsai, or Tatetayi), the northernmost of the three Tulare Lake tribes, appear to have been one of the largest of all Yokuts divisions, and still survive to the number of some dozens. The Spaniards frequently referred to the Tache, and a Laguna de Tache land grant survives on our maps. Their country was the tract from northern Tulare Lake and its inlet or outlet, Fish Slough, west to the Mount Diablo chain of the Coast Range, where they bordered the Salinan Indians. Here they wintered at Udjiu, downstream from Coalinga, and at Walna, where the western hills approach the lake. Golon (Huron) was theirs. In summer they crossed to the east of the outlet and gathered seeds in the neighborhood of Lemoore. Chi, west of Heinlen, and Waiu, Mussel Slough, on which stands their present rancheria of Santa Rosa, were in this tract. The various delimitations cited by older Indians as having formerly existed make it seem that the Tachi and Nutunutu were friendly to each other, but suspicious and probably hostile at times toward the Wimilchi on the one side and the Chunut, Temlani, Wo'lasi, and Choinok on the other.

The Apiachi are an obscure and extinct tribelet, living with the lower Kings River tribes, but somehow associated with the Tachi, from whom some of the older Indians now refuse to separate them. They lived north of Kings River and east of its outlet slough, at Wohui, beyond Telweyit or Summit Lake, in the direction of Elkhorn.

TRIBES OF THE NORTHERN GROUP OF THE VALLEY DIVISION.

The Pitkachi, perhaps more accurately Pitkati (plural Pitakati or Pidekati) are said to have received their appellation from an evil-smelling salt or alkali of the same name, which they used to gather or prepare. This in turn is named after feces, *pidik*. They held the south side of the San Joaquin, living at Kohuou, near Herndon or Sycamore; at Weshiu, on a slough; and at Gewachiu, still farther downstream.

The Wakichi or Wa'kichi, plural Wakeyachi, were on the same side of the river but farther up, not quite opposite the Dumna, and just below the Kechayi. Holowichniu, near Millerton, was in their territory. This location would suggest that the Wakichi were part of the northern foothill group, but a few preserved phrases of their dialect indicate that it belonged to the valley division.

The Hoyima, Hoyim'a, or Hoyimha (plural Hoyeyami) were also on the San Joaquin where it still flows west, but opposite the Pitkachi; in other words, on the north side. They may have ranged as far as Fresno River. They had settlements at K'eliutanau, on a creek entering the San Joaquin from the north, and at Moyoliu above the mouth of Little Dry Creek. They were not without fighting proclivities, and at times engaged the Chauchila of the plains and the Chukchansi of the hills.

The Heuchi, Heuche, or Heutsi (plural Hewachinawi) had a large settlement at Ch'ekayu, on Fresno River 4 miles below Madera. They were certainly on the north side of this stream and may have had both its lower banks.

The Chauchila or Chauchili, more correctly Chaushila or Chaushilha (plural Chaweshali), sometimes also called Toholo, "lowlanders, westerners," by the hill tribes, were in the plains along the several channels of Chowchilla River, in whose name their appellation is perpetuated. They lived at Shehamniu on this stream, apparently at the eastern edge of the plains, some miles below

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

Buchanan. Halau, "cane," near Berenda, which may have been in their range 101
or that of the Heuchi, recalls a town of the same name on far distant Kern
Lake. The Chauchila may have been a populous tribe; they were certainly a 103
warlike one, for their name is a byword for bravery to the southernmost end
of Yokuts territory among tribes ignorant of the nearer Heuchi and Hoyima. 131 ●
It is frequently translated as "murderous," "cruel," or "aggressive"; but the nearest roots known are not very similar: Yaudanchi *tawidj*, *taudj*, to die or kill, and *taw* (*t* alomst like *ch*), to overcome. Two mythical traditions told by the Yauelmani begin at Kamupau in Chumash territory beyond San Emigdio at the extreme head of the San Joaquin Valley, and progress, one to the ocean on the south, the other north to the Chauchila. Such a range of geographical knowledge, however vague, is quite unparalleled in California, except among the inquisitive and far-traveled Mohave, who, by the way, were also known to the Yokuts through visiting parties from across the desert and by reputation as a fighting people, and who quite correctly termed the Yokuts Kwalinyokosmachi, "tule sleepers."

The Chauchila are the first Yokuts tribe to have no upland neighbors of their own stock, the southern Miwok now being the easterners. They are also the last tribe, until Stockton is reached, concerning whom anything definite is known. In the plains along the Merced, Tuolumne, Stanislaus, and Calaveras Rivers, on the east bank of the lower San Joaquin, and perhaps on its west side also, were Yokuts. There are some names extant; but whether of tribes or towns, or where these were located, is doubtful. Some fragments of language,
transmitted from several independent sources, show that there existed a [197]
variety of northern valley speech distinguished by a frequent change of *m* and *n* to *b* and *d*; but again there is no certainty where these dialects were spoken. There are known in this region the Nupchinche or Noptinte, not located; the Tawalimni, presumably on Tuolumne River, which appears to be named from them; the Lakisamni, perhaps to be connected with Takin (for Lakiu?) rancheria at Dents or Knights Ferry on the Stanislaus; the Siakumne; and Hannesuk, which sounds like a Miwok place name, but is given as a tribe and placed in territory that was probably Yokuts. Some names can be identified as generically denoting any inhabitants in certain directions, such as Nututamne and Kosmitas or Xosmitamne, Yokuts for "upstream people" and "northern people," respectively; and Tammukamne, Miwok for "northerners." Others, like Yachik, Yachikamne, or Yachimesi, refer only to village sites or the inhabitants of particular places, instead of being tribal names. And still others, like Coconoon, an anciently mentioned group on Merced River, whom a vocabulary proves to have been Yokuts, are utterly hopeless, unless one is ready to take such random shots as to identify this term with Gogoni, a spot said to have marked the extreme northern or upland range of the Chauchila. The early travelers often encountered these northernmost Yokuts far from their homes or at the missions, and rarely cared or were able to record their exact habitat. At the present time, when an old Indian can be found who remembers a few words of the Yokuts speech of his father or grandfather, he has usually forgotten the name of the tribe, or, if he remembers this, is in ignorance or in patent error of its former location. A similar darkness reigns concerning the Wintun, Maidu, Miwok, and Costanoan groups once on or near San Francisco Bay. In short, regrettable as the fact is, we can scarcely hope ever to have wholly accurate or full information concerning these tribes.

Conditions are a little better for knowledge of the last and probably most northerly Yokuts tribe, the Chulamni, who apparently are the group that fre-

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953

NS29 Yokuts NS29

101 quents the older sources under the designations of Tcholovone and Cholo-
103 vomne. Fortune preserved until recently a few individuals of this tribe, who
retained a reasonable command of their forefathers' speech. This, on compari-
● 131 son with the Chauchila dialect, has proved to be typical Yokuts of the northern valley group, making the appurtenance of the intervening tribes to the same group substantially certain. The Chulamni inhabited Yachik and Wana near Stockton, the latter just below the landing. Their territory extended at least some miles down the San Joaquin and up the Calaveras; probably also across the former stream, possibly as far west as Mount Diablo.

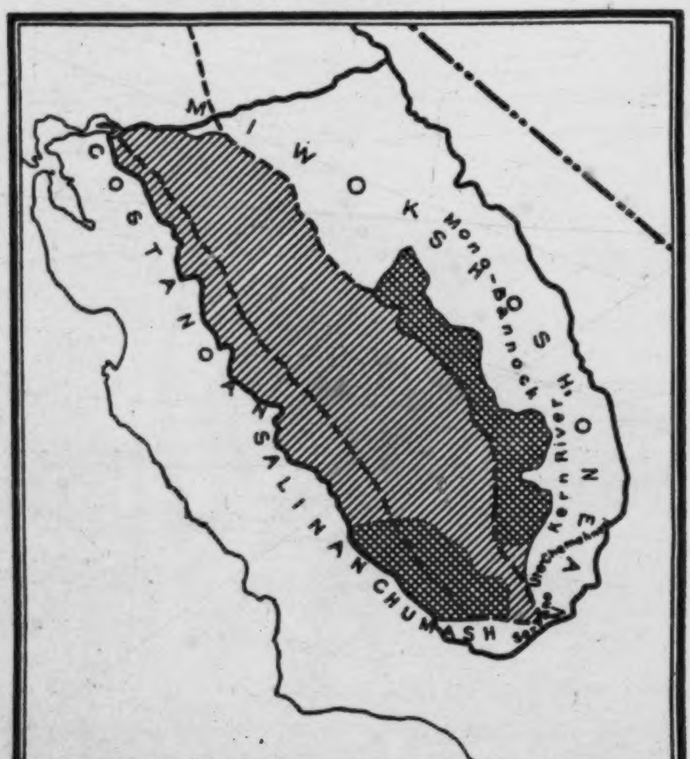

FIG. 43.—Yokuts topography, distribution, and neighbors. The heavy line marks the San Joaquin-Tulare drainage; the broken line, the level San Joaquin Valley. Territory of Yokuts of valley division in hatching; of foothill division in cross-hatching.

SPEECH AND TOPOGRAPHY.

101 The very remarkable relation of the Yokuts habitat and of their
speech divisions to topography is shown in Figure 43. It is clear that
131 they are essentially a valley people. Not only do they hold the whole

of the San Joaquin Valley floor but their extension into the hills is of 101
the slightest. The higher Sierra Nevada everywhere, and the lower 131
slopes in the north, are in the possession of alien nations.

Equally significant is the almost perfect correspondence between 101
topography and speech. The valley dialects are absolutely confined
to the plains, except for a small part of the range of the Yauelmani 133
in the extreme south. The foothill group of dialects is restricted 197
with equal exactness to the hills, except where the three southwestern tribes, finding the lee side of the Coast Range too barren for their subsistence, appear to have come down into the adjacent tule swamps. The correlation between speech and soil surface is so rigid that causes of such potency must be inferred to have been operative as could scarcely have prevailed to this extent among the Yokuts without being of some influence elsewhere. Indeed it seems, as already pointed out, that lines of dialectic cleavage followed the edge of the plains in the Sacramento Valley, among Miwok, Maidu, and Wintun. On the other hand, it is dangerous to reason from the mass conditions of the great valley, flanked by the massive, unbroken wall of the Sierra, to circumstances obtaining in regions of more irregular topography. Several Pomo dialects, for instance, extend practically unchanged over belts of coast, timber, valley, mountain, and inland waters.

It is also clear from Figure 43 how much more diversified the foothill 101
tribes were than those of the valley. Holding barely a fifth of 197
the area of the stock, they comprised about one-half of the tribes, and
five out of seven of its dialect groups. The diversity of surface in
the hill country is only partially responsible. Of more moment,
probably, is the fact that the foothill tribes, happening to constitute
a fringe, were thrown into more intimate contact with their alien
neighbors dwelling higher on the same slope of the Sierra Nevada, [177]
and thus had stimulated in them those unconscious influences toward change of language that only association with the foreigner seems to bring.

It is difficult to look at this map, with its enormous solid nucleus of valley, and defend oneself from the impression that this is the original home of the Yokuts group, and that the border foothill tribes represent an upland spilling over. This would be contrary to the view sometimes entertained that the Yokuts once occupied the entire basin to its summit, and were in process of being gradually driven to the center by Shoshonean pressure. From the Yokuts side the appearance is rather of an expansion of this stock and a pushing back of Shoshoneans who previously might have held all of the mountains and perhaps the southern end of the valley.

As a matter of fact, it is impossible to decide. Either alternative looks plausible as the evidence is approached from one aspect or the

CHAPTER 33.

THE YOKUTS: SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS.

Culture, 492; marriage, 492; moieties and totems, 493; chiefs and officials, 496; war, 497; money, 498; greetings, 498; birth, 498; names, 499; death and mourning observances, 499.

CULTURE.

101 131 The extinction of the northern valley tribes prevents their being included in the following account of Yokuts life, which is accordingly confined to those members of the family who live south of the Miwok, or approximately those shown in Plate 47. When such and such customs are ascribed to "the northern Yokuts," the tribes of the upper San Joaquin region are therefore referred to, notably the Chukchansi, who survive in the greatest numbers. Under "southern Yokuts" all the tribes from Kaweah River south may generally be understood, although most of the information relates to the Yaudanchi and Yauelmani. For the "central" tribes of the lake region and the sloughs of lower Kings River the Tachi may be taken as typical. It is regrettable that so little knowledge survives concerning the Yokuts of the lower San Joaquin, as their practices must have been different from those of their southerly kinsmen at many points. Living almost in contact with the Wintun and Maidu, and between the Miwok and Costanoans, it is practically certain that they shared the Kuksu and other ceremonies of the ritual system which is common to these groups and centered in the first-named stock. The Yokuts south of the San Joaquin performed ceremonies of entirely different type. This lack of similarity is probably typical of many other distinctions which can only be suspected.

MARRIAGE.

584 Marriage was a comparatively informal affair all the way from the Chukchansi to the Yauelmani, though payment was always made for the bride, sometimes by as high as a hundred *chok* measures of beads. A father might send his son to a prospective son-in-law of his choice, with instructions to address him as his brother-in-law. Or a man might suggest to a friend that they be *maksi*—parents of a married couple. The bridegroom would then appear, but if the girl remon-

2:Kroeber
101, 102, 131, 133, 312, 361, 197

NS29 Yokuts

Sec. A	Sec. B
Sec. C	Sec. D

Chart of the position of sections of map 526-I.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY

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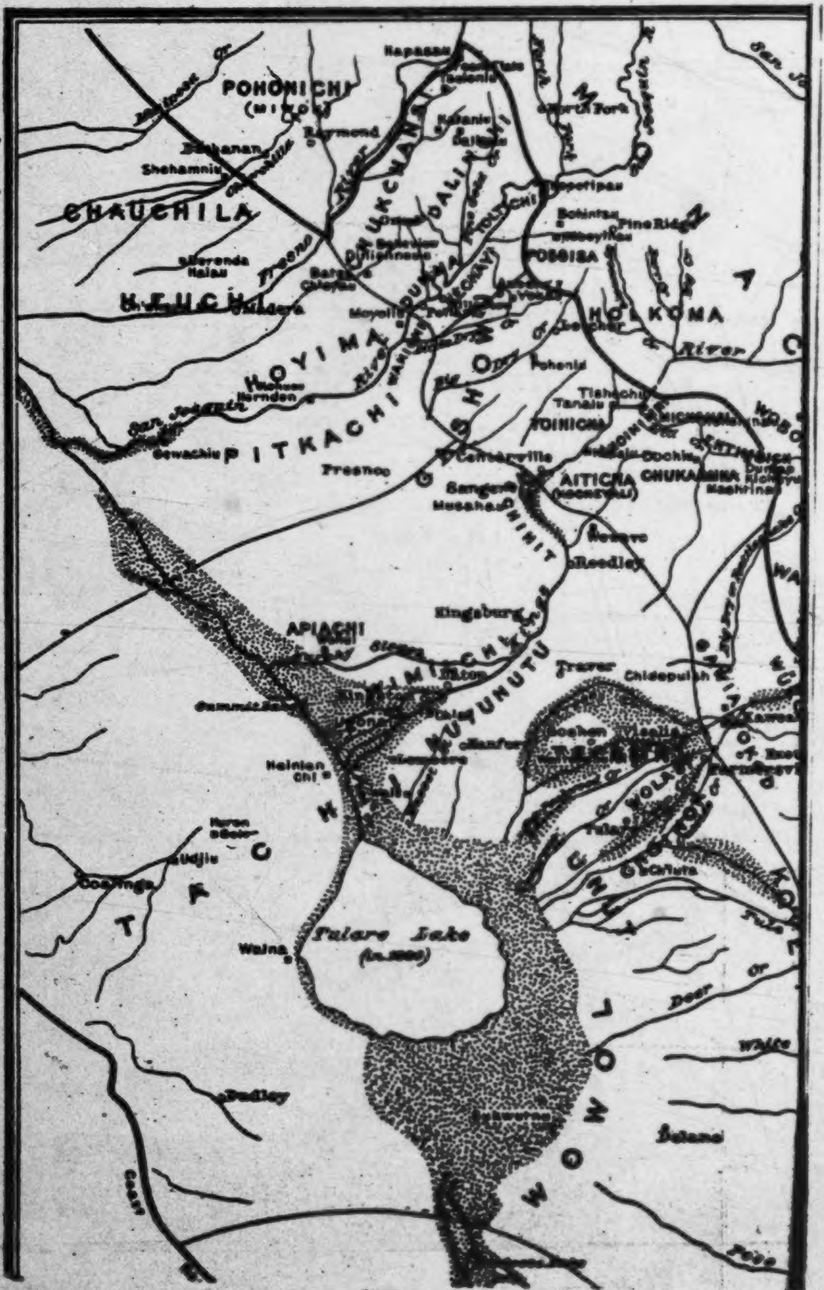
POHONICHI
(MIWOK)
Raymond
Buchanan
Shehamniu
CHAUCHILA
Fresno River
CHUKCHANSI
DALINCHI
POSGISA
Pine Ridge
North Fork
HOLKOMA
River
HOYIMA
Herndon
San Joaquin
PITKACHI
Fresno
Centerville
TOINICHA
Tishechu
Tanaiu
AITICHA
(KOCHEYALI)
CHUKAIMINA
Sanger
Reedley
Kingsburg
APIACHI
Slough
WECHIHIT
NUTUNUTU
Traver
Chidepuish
Summit Lake
Hanford
Lemoore
Visalia
TELAMNI
WOLASI
Heinlen
Chi
TACHI
Huron
Coalinga
Waina
Tulare Lake
(in 1850)
Tule
Deer Cr
White
Delano
Dudley
Poso
W O W O L

[p. 526-I(A)]

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

BULLETIN 78 PLATE 47

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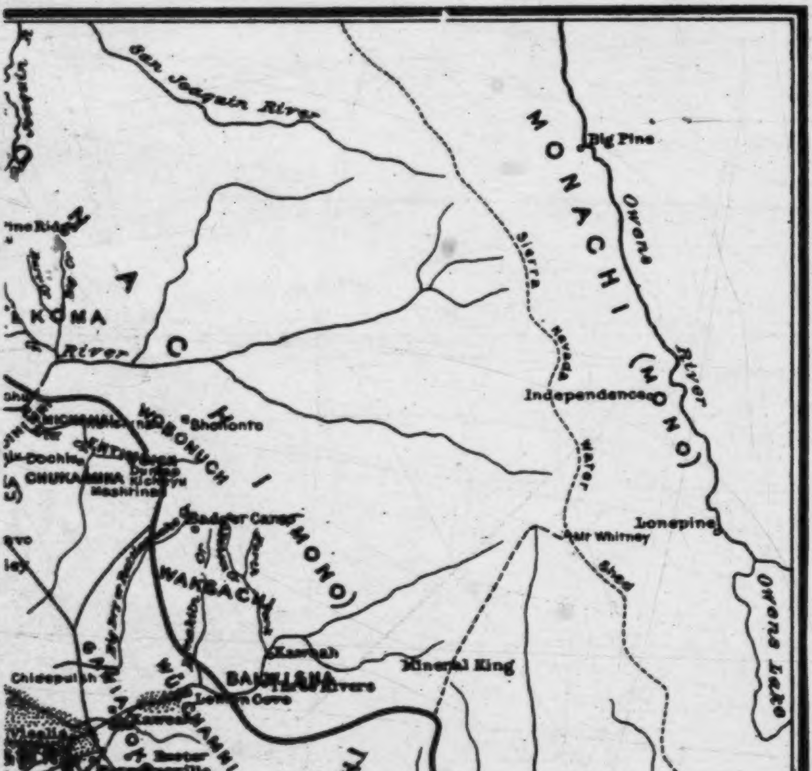
San Joaquin River
MONACHI (MONO)
Big Pine
Owens River
Sierra Nevada water shed
Independence
Lonepine
Mt. Whitney
Owens Lake
KOMA
River
Shoshonto
WOBONUCH
MICHAHAI
CHUKAIMINA
Dochia
Mashrina
I (MONO)
Badger
WAKSACHI
Kaweah
BALWISHA
Three Rivers
Lemon Cove
Mineral King
WÜKCHAMNI
Chiepulish
Exeter
Farmersville
WOLASI
YAUDANCHI
Tuhnaserau
Daunt
Uhun'ui
Porterville
KOYETI
Tule R.
Deer Cr.
BOKNINUWAD
Uchiyingetau
Willowsprings
White R.
Hot Springs
PALEWAMI
Lion Valley
Kern River
(TÜBATULABAL)
TANISHA
So. Fk. Kern River
Owens Peak
Kernville
Weldon
Walker's Pass

[p. 526-I(B)]

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

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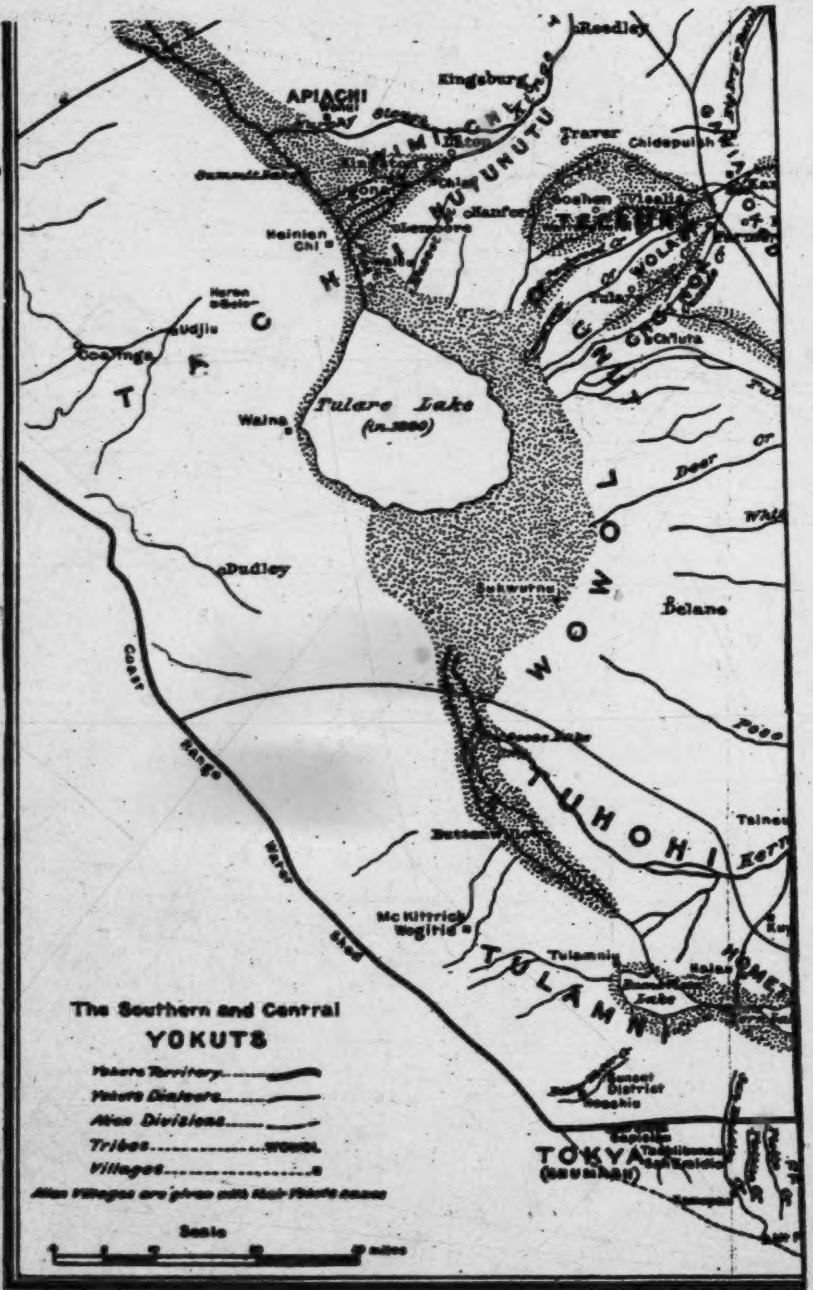
Reedley
Kingsburg
APIACHI
Traver
Chidepuish
Hanford
Goshen
Visalia
WOLASI
Tulare
Chiluta
Tulare Lake
(in 1850)
Waina
Udjiu
Coalinga
T
A
C
H
I
Dudley
Sukwutnu
Delano
Deer Cr
Poso
WOWOL
TUHOHI
Kern
Buttonwillow
McKittrick
Tulamniu
TULAMNI
Sunset District
TOKYA
Coast Range Water Shed
The Southern and Central
YOKUTS
Yokuts Territory
Yokuts Dialects
Alien Divisions
Tribes..........WOWOL
Villages
Alien Villages are given with their Yokuts names
Scale
miles

[p. 526-I(C)]

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

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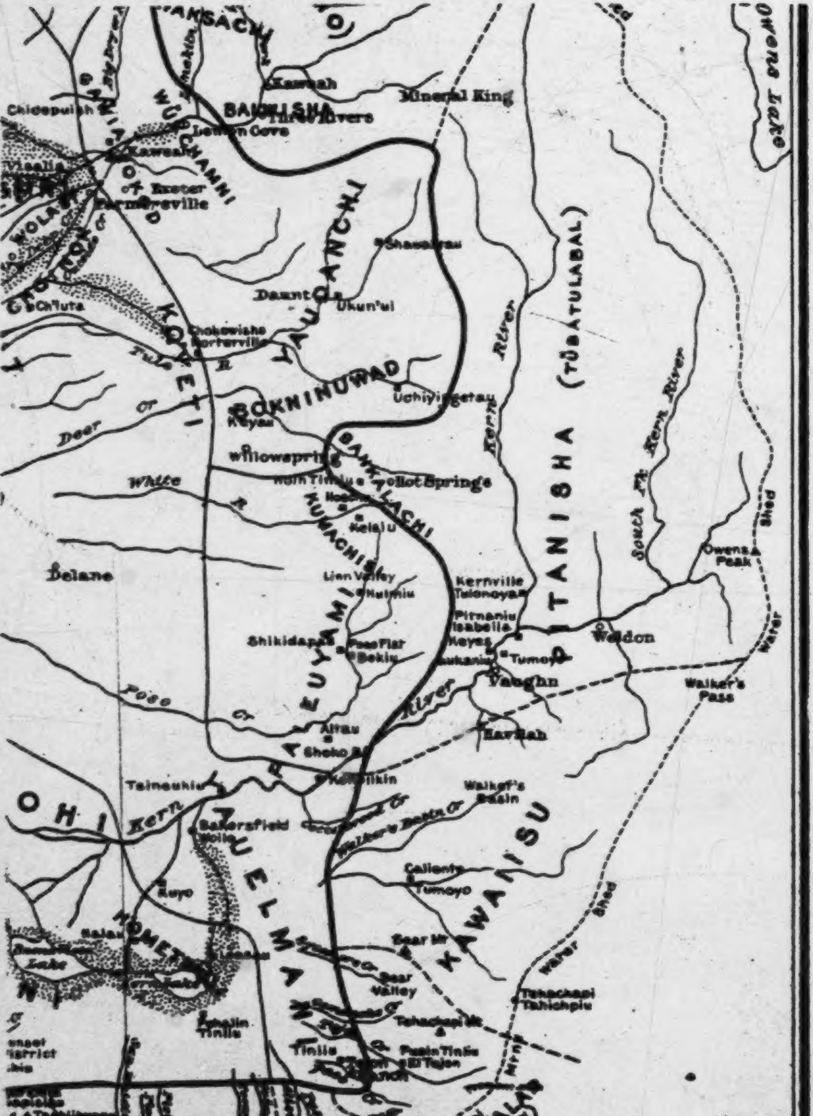
WAKSACHI
Kawaah
Mineral King
BALWISHA
Three Rivers
Lemon Cove
WUKCHAMNI
Chiedpuiah
Kaweah
Visalia
Exeter
Farmersville
WOLASI
GAWIA
Shawahtau
YAUDANCHI
Daunt
Ukun'ui
Ch'iuta
Chokowisho
Porterville
Tule R
KOYETI
BOKHINUWAD
Uchiyingetau
Keyau
Deer Cr
Willowsprings
Tinliu
Poso
Springs
White R
BANKALACHI
Hoschiu
Kelaiu
KUMACHISI
Delano
Linn Valley
Hulmiu
PALEUYAMI
Kernville
Tulonoyan
Pitnaniu
Isabella
Keyes
Shikidapsi
Poso Flat
Bekiu
Tumoyo
Vaughn
Havilah
Weldon
Kern River
TUBATULABAL
PITANISHA
South Fk Kern River
Owens Peak
Walker's Pass
Water Shed
Poso Cr
Altau
Shoko
Taineuhiu
Kernville
OHI
Kern R
Bakersfield
Woilo
Cottonwood Cr
Walker's Basin Cr
Walker's Basin
Caliente
Tumoyo
KAWAIISU
TUHALUMNI
Kuyo
Kaiau
HOMETWOLI
Lake
Loasau
Bear Mt
Bear Valley
YAUELMANI
Tehachapi
Tahichpiu
Tehachapi Mt
Tinlinin
Tinliu
Tinliu
Pusin Tinliu
El Tejon
Tejon
Takoyo
Ft Tejon
MAYAINTALAP
(KITANEMUK)
Owens Lake

[p. 526-I(D)]

FOREWORD

101 The Yokuts or Yokoch Indians and F. F. Latta are an
131 extraordinary combination.

This great Indian nationality once held the whole floor of
[161] the San Joaquin Valley, plus much of the adjoining foothill belt
on both sides. Numbering some eighteen to twenty thousand
[619] souls, they were clustered into nearly fifty independent local
tribes, mostly friendly to one another. Though each tribe definitely held its own delimited territory, there was constant visit-
[262] ing and return visiting, as nature according to season most
bountifully provided fish, fowl, game, seeds, acorns or roots
once here and then there. In their three hundred miles of
range, the Yokuts were the most extensive as they were perhaps
the most populous of the many diverse nationalities of aborigi-
[197] nal California. Each Yokuts tribe spoke its own slightly
divergent dialect or sub-dialect; but all the way from Stockton
to Bakersfield there prevailed at least partial intelligibility.
Customs and institutions evinced a similar basic uniformity,
varied by local peculiarities of detail, over the total stretch of
the San Joaquin Valley. They were a tall, well built people of
142 open outlook, were the Yokuts: frank, up-standing, casual and
181 unceremonious, optimistic and friendly, fond of laughter, not
given to cares of property or too much worry about tomorrow;
and they lived in direct simple relation to their land and world,
to its animals, spirits, and gods, and to one another.

114 F. F. Latta, the friend and historian of the Yokuts, is one
of those rare beings—a natural-born ethnographer. That means he is a describer of other peoples' exotic ways and customs, an interpreter of their temperaments, a sympathetic reporter of their fortunes. Born and raised in the Great Valley, and long one of its better-known educators, he understands locale and environment, whites as well as Indians. In his observations, he is not only meticulous, but remarkably reliable. The accuracy of his accounts has particularly impressed me, for I studied the Yokuts too, between 1900 and 1910, at a time when far more of

PREFACE

In introducing this *Handbook of Yokuts Indians* it is probably 114
necessary to state that I was born on the Orestimba Creek in western Stanislaus County and lived the early portion of my life in several localities on the "West Side" of the San Joaquin Valley.

There had been no Indians on the West Side since about 101
1806. They had been stripped from that entire territory from 131
Martinez on the north, to Paleta on the south, and taken to the
Spanish Missions on the coast. However, all along the eastern [797]
edge of the Coast Range foothills, along the San Joaquin River and along the lakes and sloughs from that river southeast to a point south of Bakersfield, there were many evidences of Indian occupation.

Those evidences were in the nature of abandoned village 172
sites: depressions where structures had stood; cemeteries; flat, earthbound rocks, honeycombed with mortars; occasional portable mortars, pestles, metates and manos, beads, arrow and spear points, and heat-shattered cooking rocks.

On the Orestimba, Romero, Garzas and Los Baños Creeks, and along the near-by San Joaquin River were many immense, saucer shaped depressions over which had stood structures of some kind. One of these on Los Baños Creek is more than sixty-five feet across. In the center of these depressions are fire pits, still containing charcoal and heat-shattered rocks.

For those of us who lived on the West Side, these evidences 114
of departed Indians held a great fascination. I can still remember how in 1909 I was thrilled to see my first live Indians. They were camped by the road in the mountains near Strawberry, east of Oakdale.

In 1923, when I first went to Tulare County to live, I was 114
again thrilled to find several Indian families living in primitive 101
manner along the banks of the Kaweah River east of 131
Visalia. In October of that year I interviewed my first 114
aged Yokuts, blind Mollie Lawrence. She was a full-blood 15
Wukchumne and was then about ninety-five years of age. I 124
continued to interview Mollie until 1928, when she died. In the

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

CHAPTER I

YOKUTS GEOGRAPHY

THE YOKUTS INDIANS

101 Before the coming of the white man, almost the entire San Joaquin Valley, from the summit of the Coast Range to the 131 upper reaches of the Sierra foothills, from approximately the Cosumne River to Tejon Canyon on the east, and from Martinez to Paleta on the west, was occupied by one of the most interesting North American races of primitive people to be studied by scientists.

[161] These San Joaquin Valley Indians were at one time quite numerous, there probably being within their territory no less 101 than twenty-five thousand persons, all closely related by blood and language. They are known to scientists as *Yokuts,* Yokuts being a word taken from their language and meaning persons, or people. The word is never used in a singular form.

Some tribes, including the *Tachi,* pronounce the word *Yo'-kotch,* but there is little other variation in the pronunciation throughout the entire valley area. They use Yokuts much as we use the word everybody. No Yokuts Indian knows himself as a Yokuts, but readily understands what is meant when it is explained to him how the term is used by scientists.

[619] There were probably at one time as many as fifty subtribes of the Yokuts group. Of those subtribes something is known about the boundaries and life of forty-four.

Because a vast area of the San Joaquin Valley was unoccupied by Indians when they were first studied, there has been some difference of opinion among scientists as to the exact blood and language groups that occupied this great basin. Some authorities have placed several language groups in the northern portion of the valley. But research done by this writer, as well as the many Yokuts tribe names distributed as far north as the Mokelumne and Cosumne rivers, indicates that all occupants of the San Joaquin Valley were Yokuts.

114 The greater part of the information available concerning the Yokuts was obtained from a study of less than a dozen tribes. In fact, almost none of them had been studied and reported upon by scientists before the year 1870.

the entire area was occupied, although probably not by such 172
great numbers as was the east side of the valley. 361

Concerning these west side tribes there is, of course, 101
practically nothing known. Few hints as to their names and
habits have been left by the Spanish missionaries in their records concerning the tribes taken from that territory. This
lack of data is due to the fact that the entire west side was [797]
stripped of Indians upon the completion of the missions to the
west, probably before the year 1806. With one or two exceptions, they never returned to that area, it being too open to the [648]
invasions of the Spanish, whose advances were not welcomed
by those primitive people.

THE NORTHERN YOKUTS

One of the most marked characteristics of the Yokuts 101
people concerned their organization into tribes, and their establishment of definite boundaries for each tribe. This is not 131
common to all California primitive groups, nor to primitive
groups in other portions of the United States.

Beginning at the northern end of the San Joaquin Valley 101
the tribes were distributed roughly as follows: According to 131
F. W. Hodge, *Handbook of North American Indians*, the 619
Yachikamni Yokuts occupied the territory surrounding present
Stockton. *Tchikimisi*, on the south side of the Cosumne River, 103
and *Tawi*, on the lower San Joaquin River, were Yachikamni 361
villages.

In addition to the Cosumne and Mokelumne who are by some authorities classed as *Miwok*, there were along the Stanislaus river the *Tuolumne*, although their name was given to a river further south. According to J. C. Frémont the *Auxumne* lived on the Merced River. The *Chulamni* are reported on the Stockton plains.

The first tribe about which anything definite is known is
the *Chauchila*, for which the anglicized Chowchilla has been substituted. These people were the only warlike tribe of Yokuts. [181]
They ranged along the Chowchilla River from the San Joaquin
River on the west to the Sierra foothills on the east.

The *Heuchi* claimed Fresno River from the San Joaquin River to the foothills. Their village of *Chekayu* was located on the north bank of Fresno River, about four miles below present Madera. Above the Heuchi, on the south side of Fresno River, were the *Chukchansi*, a foothill tribe.

101 On the location of the later white village of Bates, on upper
103 Cottonwood Creek, was the Chukchansi village of *Cheyau*.
131 Farther east, and about six miles south of O'Neals, was the vil-
619 lage of *Dinishneu*.

361 The southern Yokuts called the San Joaquin River
[226] *Tihshachu*, meaning salmon spearing place. Indians traveled
great distances to spear salmon on the shallow sand bars there.

On the north side of the San Joaquin River, between the foothills and the Big Bend at Mendota, were the *Hoyima*. About a half mile below the Herndon bridge was the Hoyima village of *Chayo*. Another Hoyima village was located about three miles upstream from the Herndon bridge. It was named *Atabo* (Ah-tah'-bo). On both sides of the San Joaquin, about two miles above Lane's Bridge, was the Hoyima village of *Yimshu*. On the north side of the San Joaquin River and about three miles above the mouth of Big Dry Creek, was the Hoyima village of *Moloyu*.

Across the river from the Hoyima were the *Pitkachi*. On the south side of the San Joaquin River, at the site above the Herminghaus Ranch and known as Rancho de los Californios, was the Pitkachi village of *Gewachiu*. Another of their villages was *Kohuou* (Ko-hoo-o'-oo), located near where the town of Herndon is now.

At the junction of Little Dry Creek and the San Joaquin River were the *Wakichi*, and above them the *Kechayi*. Table Mountain on the south side of the San Joaquin River and upstream from present Millerton Lake in Kechayi land, was called *Tapu Chilow*. South of Table Mountain was the village of *Muhnowlo*. North of Table Mountain, on a large flat by the river where the Indians speared salmon, was the Kechayi village of *Kiahno*. During the time when salmon were running, every bush and most of the ground in the vicinity was red with drying salmon.

East of the Kechayi, on both sides of the San Joaquin were the *Toltichi*.

Opposite the Keychayi were the *Dumna*. Little Table Mountain, on the north side of the San Joaquin River in Dumna land, was called *Shishilu*. South of Little Table Mountain, on a small flat, was the Dumna village of *Chahtaou*. Nearer the river was the village of *Wayahchu*. *Wumwumwus* (Woom-woom'-wus), meaning rock pile, was the Dumna name for the round lava cap a half mile northwest of the Indian settlement

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Mortars in the outcropping granite rocks by the San Joaquin River at the edge of the old *Dumna* (Doom'-nah) village of I'-uh-pin. Here the Indian women pounded the acorns which they later made into bread, soup and mush. [252]

above Friant. White people in that locality call this hill The Pincushion. At the bottom of Lake Millerton and south of the old San Joaquin River channel was the Dumna head village of *Kuyu Illik*. North of the river and below Friant Dam about five miles was the Dumna village of *Iuhpin*. In the bluff above Iuhpin is a cave which the Dumna said had supernatural power and which they called *Ihlip*. [778 823]

Between the Kings and San Joaquin Rivers, ranging from the upper foothills down onto the San Joaquin Plains, were the *Gashowu*. The names of two Gashowu villages have been preserved. About two miles above the junction of the Dry Creek and Aubury roads, at an old spring where there are now some fig trees growing, was the village of *Shoko*. On Big Dry Creek,

101 about five miles below Letcher, was the village of *Pohoniu*.
103 Lookout Mountain, south of Big Dry Creek in Gashowu land,
131 was known as *Wamihlow*. Some upright granite outcroppings
on the north slope were known by the same name and were
619 thought to be Indian women who had turned to stone.

361 North of the most northern of the lower Kings River channels, known as Murphy Slough, were the *Apaichi,* a small tribe closely related to the more widely distributed *Tachi,* who occupied the north and west shores of Tulare Lake to the south. The Apaichi village of *Wohui* was located on the north bank of Murphy Slough, about seven miles above its junction with San Jose Slough.

Along the north bank of Kings River near Laton and on nearby Kings River Island were the *Wimilchi.* North of Kings River and about seven miles below Laton was the Wimilchi village of *Ugona.*

Across the river to the south of the Wimilchi were the *Nutunutu.* The Nutunutu village at old Kingston, on the south bank of Kings River a short distance below present Laton, was known as *Kadistin* (Kay-dis'-tin). Across the river and directly west of the Wimilchi village of Ugona was the Nutunutu village of *Chiou.*

On the north bank of Kings River, centering about Sanger, were the *Wechikit* and across the river to the south, the *Aiticha.*

At the junction of Mill Creek and Kings River were the *Choinimni.* In Choinimni land there have been preserved a number of villages and landmarks. Trimmer Springs was known as *Wahkōtrow* (Wah-khot'-row) (west center of Section 7, T12S, R25E MDB&M). Dalton Mountain was called *Piakchin;* and Campbell Mountain, *Wahwahlut* (Crying Place). Hughes Creek, the first creek on the north side of Kings River above Del Piedra, was called *Duhniu* (Duh-ni'-oo), meaning Jimson Weed. A village there, near the John Akers home, was known by the same name (Section 4, T13S, R24E, MDB&M). On the south bank of Kings River, a few hundred yards below the mouth of Mill Creek (NW ¼ Section 10, T13S, R24E, MDB&M) was the village of *Shetnow,* meaning Wild Onions. On Mill Creek, about two miles above its mouth, was the village of *Tahshocu,* Mouse Killing Place (SW ¼ Section 11, T13S, R24E, MDB&M). Mill Creek was called *Wokotro,* meaning Where Water Runs in Both Directions. Hughes Mountain and a village on it were known as *Nowuhsun.*

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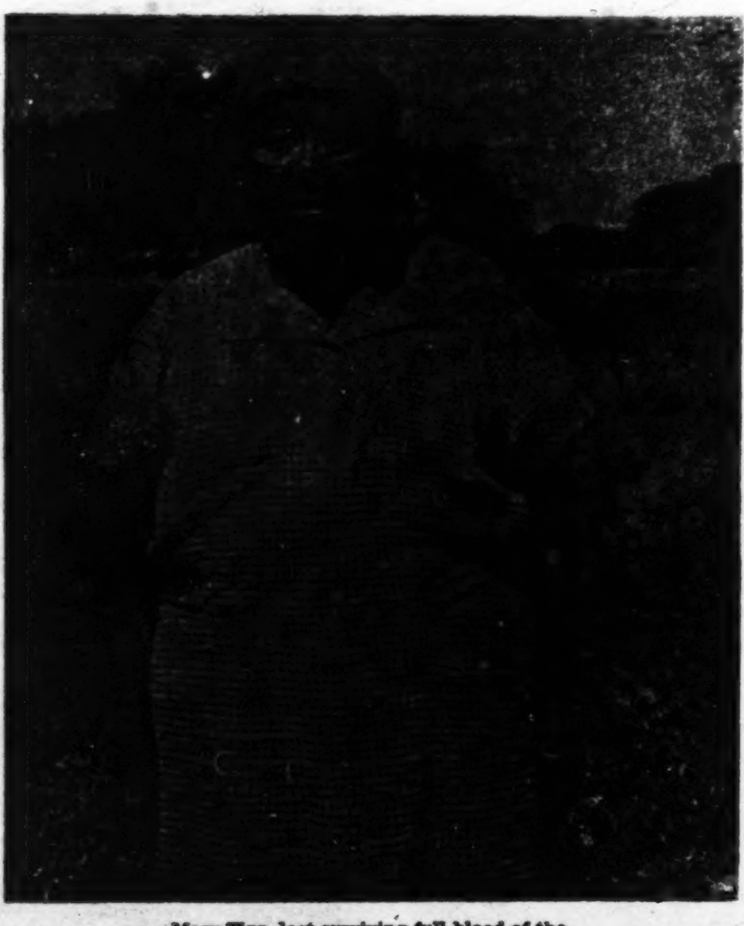

Mary Tipp, last surviving full-blood of the Nutunutu tribe from lower Kings River.

South of the Choinimni, on Mill Creek, were the *Michahai.* Still farther south near Dunlap were the *Entimbits* (En-tim'-bits), a tribe sometimes classified as Shoshonean. Pine Ridge, due north of Dunlap was called *Lokhoey,* or Deer Place, and was an Entimbits landmark. Sontag Point, east and slightly north of Dunlap was another Entimbits landmark, called *Toyahbe,* meaning Rocky Hill. It has a grey granite outcrop-

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

101 ping at the west end just before the hill flattens out into a long
131 ridge. The Entimbits called Squaw Valley *Tucheu* (Too-che'-
oo). Mill Creek, where it runs by Dunlap was called *Balwu*
619 (Bahl'-woo), or simply The Stream. The large mountain just
103 southwest of Dunlap store, and in Chukamina territory (north
36 center of Section 10, T14S, R26E, MDB&M) was called *Kawis*
by the Entimbits. The long ridge and hill at the west end of the ridge (center of Section 9, T14S, R26E, MDB&M) was called *Hoeyu* (Hoey'-yoo), meaning Deer Mountain. The gulch between the two hills named above was called Balwu, meaning The Stream. Dunlap Valley was called *Tahlow*. On Mill Flat Creek three miles above where it enters Kings River was the village of *Coahme Quate*.

Just west of the Entimbits were the *Chukaimina* (Choo-ki-meen'-uh), the tribe which occupied Squaw Valley. *Mush-tin'-now* was a Chukaimina village two miles directly east of Squaw Valley Corners (center of Section 12, T14S, R25E, MDB&M). Mill Creek between Squaw Valley Corners and Dunlap was called Balwu. A Chukaimina village on highway No. 180 (SW ¼ Section 35, T13S, R25E, MDB&M) was called *Tucheu* (Too-che'-oo). The creek south of this village was called *To'-chim Bahl'-woo*. A small divide or pass just west of Tucheu was called *Mimliu* (Mim'-le-oo).

The ridge running north and south just east of Squaw
Valley, Ruth Hill, was called *Gowpinow*. Baldy, the round point-
ed high hill at the north end of Gowpinow (SW ¼ Section 1,
T14S, R25E, MDB&M) was named *Pusutow* (Poo-soo'-tow).
The ridge just north of Pusutow was named *Pokololo*. Squaw
Valley was known by the name of the principal Chukaimina vil-
lage, Mushtinow. When the white people first settled in Squaw
[622] Valley the Chukaimina Chief was named *Jungkush*. From
1870 on until the tribe was broken up, the chief was *Puslilin*
(Poos-lil'-in). He died about 1900. Both he and Jungkush are
buried at Mushtinow. Bear Mountain (NW ¼ Section 5, T14S,
R25E, MDB&M) was known as *Wihshalu* (Wih-shay'-loo).

A small village, occupied in the spring for gathering seeds, was located southeast of Squaw Valley Corners (north of center of Section 15, T14S, R25E, MDB&M). It was named *Tahtchahmew* (Taht-chah'-mew), meaning Left-handed Place. Drumm Valley was named *Chasheu* (Cha-she'-oo) by the Chukaimina.

The Indians in Drumm Valley were known to the Chukai- 101
mina as *Wechiket*. This tribe also lived on the Kings River 131
bottom around where Sanger and Centerville are now. Drumm 103
Valley was their summer camping grounds.

The San Joaquin Valley, like any other large, open valley, 619
was called *Chawdawno* (Chaw-daw'-no), *Chaw-law'-no*, or 361
Traw-law'-no, according to the tribal dialect.

In the entire San Joaquin Valley there was probably no more thickly settled district than that surrounding Tulare Lake and the Kaweah River branches, and certainly none more suited to the needs of primitive man. Along the northeastern shore of Tulare Lake were the *Chunut*. These people ranged from the lake shore up the four lower channels or creeks of the Kaweah to a point approximately opposite the present village of Paige, five miles west of Tulare. Above the Chunut the four creeks were occupied by three tribes.

Cross, Mill, and Packwood creeks were occupied by the *Telamni*. This tribe had a large rancheria, the site of which is now probably within the present Visalia city limits.

Cameron Creek was occupied by the *Wolasi*. *Dawaw Nawshid*, the principal village of this tribe, was five miles east of Visalia at a mound once occupied by the home of the Broder family. Another village four miles south of present Farmersville was called *Chuntow*.

Outside and Deep Creeks were occupied by the *Choinok* (Choi'-nock). Their greatest population was probably near the junction of the two channels, but the only village within their territory the name of which is known, is *Cheuta* (Che'-uta), near the present city of Tulare.

At the site of Terminus Beach on the Kaweah river above Lemon Cove two tribes had permanent villages. On the north side of the river were the *Gawia*, or Kaweah. On the south bank was the Wukchumne village of *Coach-nah'-meu*. The main Kaweah Yokuts village was on the north bank of St. Johns branch of the Kaweah river just below the Venice Hills (SW ¼, Section 17, T18S, R26E, MDB&M). The name was *Kaweah*, meaning Raven.

Colvin Mountain was known as *Chadip Wishow*. Smith Mountain, northeast of Dinuba, was named *Wukmudno*.

South of the Kaweah were the *Yokodo*, after which Yokohl Valley was named. The Yokodo village on the south bank of the Kaweah at the Lime Kiln (NE ¼ Section 35, T17S, R27E,

101 MDB&M) was called *Ho-sho'-shud.* Northeast of present Mer-
131 riman (NE ¼ Section 7, T18S, R27E, MDB&M) was a Yokodo
village named *Sheudu* (She-oo'-doo). The Wukchumne village
103 on the sand flats across the river to the north was called
619 *Unow* (Oo'-now).

361 The old Yokodo main village was known by the name of
the tribe. It was located on the south bank of the Kaweah River directly north of Exeter where the Exeter golf course was later established (SW¼ Section 22, T18S, R26E, MDB&M).

The bare ridge sloping to the north from the highest portion of Rocky Hill, in Yokodo Territory (center of Section 6, T18S, R27E, MDB&M), was known as *Hawshaw Shido,* mean-
317 ing Paint Place. The Yokodo mined there a white earth that
438 they traded among the surrounding Yokuts tribes who used it
386 for making white paint.

The Lime Kiln being the upstream limits of both Yokodo and Kaweah, as well as the downstream limits of the Wukchumne, the site was occupied by all three tribes. On the Kaweah River about three miles above Lemon Cove was a Wukchumne village known as *Gotow.* Slick Rock, on the Kaweah River above Lemon Cove, was called *Pahdin,* mean-
776 ing Place to Go Under. The water hole beside it was named
Ahdit Wisha. It was thought that an evil spirit dwelt under
823 Pahdin and pulled swimmers into the water hole and drowned
them. Pahdin was the extreme upstream limits of the Wukchumne.

Tawpongaw was the name of the rocky hill about a half-mile east of Lemon Cove (SE ¼ Section 2, T17S, R27E, MDB&M). The name means Buckeye Place, as the hill was once well covered with buckeye trees. There was a spring and an old Wukchumne village there of the same name.

About one-fourth mile up the Kaweah River from the bridge on the highway between Lemon Cove and Woodlake (SE ¼ of Section 34, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) is a rock called *Mawyucaw,* Whirlwind Place. It lies close to the west side of the Dry Creek Road where it runs close to the west bank of Limekiln Creek. About one mile north of Mawyucaw (west portion of Section 26, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) the Dry Creek Road enters a little valley which the Wukchumne called *Shuckoyu,* meaning Elk Valley.

The junction of Dry Creek and Kaweah River was called *Chowpow. Tiupinish* was the name of Wukchumne Hill which

is near the depot at Lemon Cove. Near the bridge across the 101
Kaweah River on the road between Woodlake and Lemon Cove 103
was a salt spring which the Wukchumne called *Tushow* (ow as 131
in cow). They obtained salt by boiling and evaporating the 619
water.

Three miles northeast of Woodlake, the Pohut home, (NW [258]
¼ of Section 28, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) was *Tahponguh*, or 361
Buckeye Springs.

The small lone hill, about a half mile southeast of Lind Cove, was known as *Kowichow* (Kow-ih'-chow).

The mixed color paintings on Bacon Hill, north of Red- [531]
banks, and the hill itself, were called *Hucha Ingutch*, meaning
Writings.

About one-half mile west of Woodlake is a low swale run-
ning north and south. It was named *Ahd-tow*, meaning Salt [137]
Gathering Place. Salt grass still grows in the bottom of it.

At the east end of the straight stretch of pavement leading
east from Woodlake is a small flat, below a very rocky gulch
(NW ¼ of Section 33, T17S, R27E, MDB&M). This was a
favorite place for gathering grass nuts (*kawatchip*). It was
named *Kawatch Pawme*. In the old days there was a fine spring
there. About three hundred yards northeast, and uphill
from Kawatch Pawme, is a small flat called *Hawyaw Heitch*. [776
A mythological spirit guarded the spring there and claimed 823]
that he could hear whenever anyone spoke his name. The name
means Name Calling Place.

On the Dry Creek Road, which runs north from the bridge
across the Kaweah River between Woodlake and Lemon Cove,
are several Indian landmarks. To the north, as this road leaves
the hills and starts across the first small valley, (west portion
of Section 26, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) there is an old acorn-
grinding site. It is about seventy-five yards west of the road [415
and is marked by granite rocks containing many acorn pound- 252]
ing mortars. Its name was *Pachakish* (Pah-chah'-kish). Due
north of this site, at the end of the straight stretch of road is
a small bare hill which was called *Tacayu* (Tah-cah'-yoo).

West of Tacayu about a mile and a half is a spring which was known as *Shuquoyun* or Elk Place. It is at the foot of the grade leading to the Pohut place and Buckeye Springs (Tahponguh). In the hills just east of Lemon Cove (SW¼ of Section 1, T18S, R27E, MDB&M) there was a fine spring and a village named Choyo. Over the hill southeast of Lemon Cove

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

101 was the village of *Ustunu* (Oo'-stoo-noo). At the Lime Kiln
103 Hill above Lemon Cove, on the south bank of the river (NW ¼
● 131 of Section 35, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) was the village of
Hososhud. On the northeast slope of WukchumneHill at Lem-
619 on Cove, and extending to the northeast, was the Wukchumne
361 village of *Shonoyu*.

North of Woodlake (SW ¼ of Section 13, T17S, R26E,
[776 MDB&M) is a small, rocky, lone hill. It was named *Bawsu*,
823] meaning Hollow. A spirit was thought to live inside of it.
Back of the rocky range of hills north of Bawsu was a village
[137] named *Awnew*. A dwarf variety of tule, known as *awn*, grew
there. This site is at an old homestead settled in early days by "Mitch" Work (NW ¼ of Section 18, T17S, R27E, MDB&M).

In the edge of the hills north of Antelope Valley, northeast of Woodlake about five miles, was the most northerly village of the Wukchumne (SW ¼ of Section 17, T17S, R27E, MDB&M). It was named *Wuknaw* and was an important
[415 antelope hunting and seed gathering place. The site is marked
by many mortars cut into the outcropping granite by ages of
250] acorn pounding. The high peak northeast of Wuknaw one
mile was called *Tuyow* because an Indian hunter was once accidentally shot there with an arrow (*tuyosh*).

About one-half mile west of Wuknaw was a village named *Wiponche*. There was a spring at the site which was at the edge of a hill. At the site of the old Toler home, one-half mile northeast of Woodlake, is a small granite rock-topped knoll which was named *Koseu* (Ko-se'-oo).

Above Lemon Cove several miles, and north of the highway (SW ¼ of Section 25, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) is a landmark known as Eagle Ridge which ends in a peak which the Wukchume called *Teduntow*, meaning Rolling Down Place. This name resulted when an Indian gambler was killed as he tried to roll down the hill to win a bet. Eagle Ridge slopes down to the north bank of Kaweah River where it ends in a bluff. The Wukchumne called this place *Otoy Yahsid*, meaning Falling Off Place. As two Indian friends were looking over the bluff, one pushed the other, who fell into the river and was drowned.

Rocky Hill east of Exeter was named by the Yokodo, *Chahka Shahna*, meaning Live Oak Place.

The village of *Moiyuk* was located at the pointed hill northeast of Lemon Cove, (SE ¼ of Section 35, T17S, R27E,

MDB&M). A village at the bridge across the Kaweah River 101
between Lemon Cove and Woodlake was named *Hawcunu*. The 103
name of Limekiln Creek was *Chahka Ushu*. The highest peaks 131
just east of the Lime Kiln (NW ¼ of Section 36, T17S, R27E, 619
MDB&M) were named *Iago*.

The village on the "sand flats" on the north bank of the 361
Kaweah River at Lime Kiln was named *Unow* (Oo'-now). The
little pass through which the highway cuts just east of Lemon
Cove (SW ¼ of Section 36, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) was called
Woidunit.

A hill close to the north side of the Kaweah River, (SW ¼
of Section 25, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) was called *Chiishe* 825
(Chi-ish'-e) meaning Dog, because it was thought that a wild
dog lived in a hole there. The beautiful valley of Lemon Cove
was occupied by the Wukchumne.

On the north and west shores of Tulare Lake were the Tachi. They occupied a large territory, extending over the Kettleman Hills and Plains to the upper foothills west of Kettleman Plains. On the west shore of Tulare Lake, where Kettlemen City was later located, was the Tachi village of *Walna*. Another Tachi village was *Waiu,* where the Santa Rosa Indian settlement is now located south of Lemoore. West of the mouth of Kings River and about eight miles northwest of Waiu was *Heinlen Chi*. At Huron was *Golon,* and five miles southwest was *Udjiu,* known to whites as the Poso Chaná.

THE WEST SIDE YOKUTS

As has been before stated, our knowledge of the Indians 101
is a blank concerning almost the entire west side territory from
the northern range of the *Tachi,* which would be at about a
point opposite Coalinga, to old Point of Timber, near where the
city of Byron is now located.

Deeming this to be a regrettable fact, I have been ever on the alert for any suggestions which might lead to the obtaining of the names of any of the Indian villages or tribes within this territory. It must be admitted that during more than twenty-five years of such effort very little information has been obtained. That little is related to only three localities.

The locality around present Coalinga was called *Chahki,* 101
meaning asphaltum, by the surrounding Yokuts tribes because 317
of the deposits of asphaltum there. The Yokuts made pilgrim-

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

101 317 [484] The Yokuts made pilgrimages there for the purpose of gathering asphaltum for mending and waterproofing their equipment. The Indian children used it for chewing gum.

101 103 131 East of the city of Coalinga there is an old Mexican settlement which, since an early period in the Spanish settlement of California, has been known as the *Poso Chaná.* Several different derivations and meanings have been suggested concerning this name.

361 While questioning an old Spaniard who was visiting relatives in upper Antelope Valley in northwestern Kern County, I asked, "What is the meaning of *Chaná?*" The answer was direct and definite. "It is the name of the tribe of Indians which lived there before the coming of the Spaniards." This man was Mr. Theodoro Larios, who was born in the little village of San Juan Bautista in 1860 and whose grandfather had charge of more than a thousand Indians while the mission at that place was being built.

After the mission was completed the elder Larios assisted in removing the Indians from the west side of the San Joaquin Valley and remembered distinctly having taken the Indians from the village of *Udjiu* (Ood'-ge-oo) which was settled at that time by the Spaniards and re-named by them after the people who were being removed, the Chaná Indian tribe. The water hole at that place led to the Spanish name Poso, or water hole, and was also an inducement to the Spanish to settle there.

During November of 1930 I obtained from *Pahmit,* an old *Dumna* Indian of Friant on the San Joaquin River, the name of the tribe which occupied the San Joaquin River below the *Pitkachi* and around the towns of Mendota and Firebaugh. According to his statement the tribe was known as the *Kah-watch'-wah,* meaning Grass Nut People. Pahmit furnished the only first-hand information I have obtained about the Indians of the West Side between Panoche and Romero Creeks, a distance of about thirty miles. As all other data gathered from him has proved accurate, we will read his story. I have corrected some of his broken English:

159 "When I was boy one strange Indian came to live with my father. He was 'bout fifty years old. I was 'bout ten. We call that Indian *Tukwhel* (Toó-kwheel). That means West. We call him that because he came from the West. His right name was *So-pah'-no.* He was born at an Indian village on Los

Baños Creek. When we sit around our camp-fire he tells us lots 159
stories 'bout his people.

"When I 'bout twenty-five years old I drive ten mules freight team to Stockton. I do that 'bout ten years. I go two or three times with mules freight team to Gilroy after freight. That way we go over Pacheco Pass. That time Pacheco Pass was bad road. We hate to drive mules team over that road. When Sopahno real old man he go with me lots times on them trips. He cook and help me harness mules. He tell me all 'bout West Side and 'bout his people there.

"One night we camp at Los Baños Creek, where old freight [361]
road cross. We camp early, so Sopahno take me down to old
village place where he born. He show me where his father
used to live. He tell me all 'bout his people.

"Sopahno said his tribe name was Ka-watch'-wah. They 159
live on west side of San Joaquin River, from below Firebaugh 101
'bout five miles down to north Los Baños town, north where 103
San Luis Creek runs into San Joaquin River. They live too in
the west hills all along from Panoche to north of San Luis 131
Ranch. San Luis Creek all belong to Kahwatchwa. Their home 361
villages both on Los Baños Creek, one at hills and one at San
Joaquin River.

"Sopahno's village, *Kah-to'-mah,* was 'bout two hundred
yards from San Joaquin River [here Pahmit undoubtedly
meant one of the sloughs west of the river] on south bank Los
Baños Creek. We walk down there from our camp on old
freight road in 'bout ten minutes. He show me his father's
house. It was big hole in ground, lots bigger than our houses
up at *Kuyu Illik* (Koo-yoo Ill-ik). We sit on side Sopahno's 159
old home and he tell me how Spanish take him to Mission San 648
Juan when he just 'bout twelve-fifteen years old. 797

"One morning early they all asleep when they hear big noise, lots shoot, lots yell. Lots Indian run away in tules. Spanish shoot, kill lots Indian men, women. They kill Sopahno's father. His mother run away in tules. Spanish take 'bout twenty-thirty Indian boys and girls.

"Sopahno stay at Mission San Juan 'bout twenty years. Then the priests tell Indian, 'You all go away from Mission. You all go back your homes.' Then all Indian go away from San Juan.

"Sopahno come back to his old home. There's nobody 159
there. Indian all gone, Indian house all burned long ago. He

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

101 the Tule to a point approximately three miles west of where
the Southern Pacific Railroad crosses that stream north of
Tipton.

From there to the present town of Porterville the channel
101 of the Tule was occupied by the *Koyeti* tribe. The chief village
103 was called *Chokowesho* (Cho-ko-we'-sho) and was situated on
● 131 the north bank of Tule River within a fraction of a mile of the
present Porterville city limits. It is probable that the Koyeti
361 did not range further upstream than Chico Flats, a short distance above the city of Porterville. On Deer Creek, just below the crossing of the upper road (at the old Tatman Ranch home) was the old Koyeti Yokuts village of *Chetetik Nowsuh.*

The Village on the north slope of the high hill about three miles southeast of Plano (south central portion of Section 4, T22S, R28E, MDB&M. The Walter Richardson home stands on the site of this village) was called *Tenalu* (Te-na'-loo) by the Koyeti. The name of the hill (Sections 8 and 9, T22S, R28E, MDB&M was *Pala Natsa.* The small isolated hill about one mile directly east of Plano (NW ¼ of Section 6, T22E, R28E, MDB&M) was known as *Chewil Tinin,* meaning Cottontail's Home. It was also a station from which the Koyeti sent smoke signals.

Fountain Springs, east of Ducor, was known to the Koyeti as *Kahlitkow.* Willow Springs, three miles northwest of Woody, was called *Sanow* (Sah'-now) *Witow* by the Koyeti and *Bokninuwad.*

Coyote Springs, north of Willow Springs and south of Fountain Springs, bore the name of *Kiwin Ilkow.* It had the same meaning as the white man's name. According to *Chamsah,* an aged Koyeti, this name and the names of other landmarks nearby were adopted by the whites from the Indians who were shearing sheep there. The Bokninuwad knew Coyote Springs as *Tiwahnah,* meaning Gaming Tray Place, because the women of that tribe used to visit there to play their dice game.

Northeast of Fountain Springs about four miles is a long mountainous ridge running almost north and south. It was named *Kiahlu* (Ki-ah'-loo), or Lookout Mountain, because they used it for sending smoke signals. A Koyeti village of the same name was located at the south end of this ridge. A rocky gap about one-half mile west of the north end of *Kiahlu* was called *Pahpahwits.* A village and a spring of the same name

were located about two miles south of Pahpahwits, where the 101
John Hewey Ranch home has been for many years. Looking 103
north from Pahpahwits and about three miles distant is a long
mountain running northeast and southwest. It was named 131
Ahsaw. A village and a spring south of the west end of Ahsaw 361
were known by the same name.

Hawscheu (Haws-che'-oo) is a village at the old Hocket Ranch on lower White River just above where the old stage road crossed.

Paralleling the Fountain Springs—Deer Creek Road and about one-half mile east of it, is a long ridge, beginning on the north in a small rocky hill which slopes upward toward the south to end in a high rock-capped mountain. The Indians called this ridge Sleeping Bear, or *N'hawn Wawyen*, and the north rocky peak was *N'hawn Utaway*, meaning Bear's Head.

From the above point east and north, occupying the northern branch of Tule River, were the *Yaudanchi*. East of Porterville about four miles, and north of Monache Golf Links is a large rocky hill, on the lower slopes of which was once located a granite quarry. Nearby a gulch leads to the level land below. On this gulch was located the Koyeti Yokuts village of *Trawoio* (Traw-oi'-o). This same rocky hill sweeps around to the east and southeast, the surface changing to a dark red rock, ending at the southeast (north center of Section 34, T21S, R28E, MDB&M) in a high, rocky peak which has a few scrub oaks on the northern slope. The Yaudanchi called this high peak *Pahnoski* (Pahn-oh'-ski), meaning Fly's Home.

There was a large Yaudanchi village between the forks of the lower branches of Tule River. It was named *Chamiktu* (Cha'-mik-too).

On Tule River Reservation, about one-half mile below the Soto place on the north side of the creek, was the village of *Pahawuhtin* (Paw-haw'-wuh-tin), meaning Weasel's Hole, because there is a hole in the rock there.

On the north fork of Tule River near Bartlett Park is a very black hill having a long string of black rocks running from it eastward toward the river. It was named *Chowmiktow*, meaning Black Hill. *Ketilmuh* was a Yaudanchi summer village at Camp Nelson on upper Middle Tule River. About two miles north of the Painted Rock at Tule River Indian Reservation is a pointed mountain named *Mowitnuh* (Mow-it'-nuh).

101 The waterfall on South Tule River, just below the Paint-
ed Rock, was called *Huhonanshe* (Hoo-ho-nahn'-she). There
103 was once a village there having the same name. Between the
● 131 forks of Tule River and South Tule is a small round hill which
361 was known as *Tonawuhchin* (To-naw-uh'-chin), meaning Indian
Undertaker. A village just below it was known by the same
name.

The high rocky butte a little southeast of the Painted Rocks on upper Tule River Indian Reservation was named *Ketelmun* (Ke-teel'-mun). The Painted Rock was called *Hocheu* (Ho-che'-oo). Soda Springs, below the Painted Rock, was known as *Tihtih Ilkow.* A small soda spring, about one-fourth mile below the above Soda Springs, and in the south bank of the river, was called *Ipew.* The large ridge lying between the Painted Rock Fork and Bone Canyon Fork of Tule River was named *Katilmuh.* On the upper portion of Katilmuh was Eagles Spring, or *Trok'-e-lin Ill'-kow.* About a mile above the Painted Rock, near the dam in Tule River, is a place where whirlwinds form. It was named *Sokwin Tindu.*

Soksouh (Sok-so'-uh) is the name of a bad, supernatural
[776 spirit, and was applied to the large figure painted on the ceil-
532] ing of the Painted Rock at Tule River Indian Reservation. This
painting resembles the stretched skin of a mountain lion hold-
ing the sun in its mouth.

South of the Yaudanchi, on upper Deer Creek and upon south Tule were the Bokninuwad. Practically nothing is known of this tribe, except that their name means Finders, Keepers.

Further south of the Bokninuwad on upper White River and possibly Rag Gulch were the *Kumachisi* (Koo-mah-che'-se). About two miles above the village of White River, in the stream bed, is a large flat rock about which the Kumachisi Yokuts told an interesting story. The rock was called *Towuhwuts.* About three hundred yards farther up the river, and on the north bank, was the Kumachisi village of *Kelseu.* The Kumachisi village of *Kayte Ilkow* was located where the white village of Woody is now. It was named for the nearby sulphur spring. Kayte Ilkow means Stinking Water.

White people probably adopted the Indian name for Deer Creek, as old Indians have stated that they called it *Hoeyin Tultuh,* or Deer Canyon.

Kawlpawpuh was the name of an old Kumachisi village

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Site of the old Indian village of Kawipawpuh (NW¼ of the NE¼ of Section 12, T26S, R30E, MDB&M), named for the wild gourds which grew there in abundance and which the Indian children used for footballs. The site is on Cedar Creek about four miles below Glennville. Many inter-tribal football games were held on this field, players coming from as far away as Tulare Lake, Kings River and Tejon Canyon.

[526]

and game grounds on Cedar Creek about five miles below Glennville (NW ¼ of the NE ¼ of Section 12, T26S, R30E, MDB&M). It was named for the wild gourds which grew there and with which the Indian children played football. About two miles north of the village of White River is a high rocky hill which was named *Waytupkul.*

On upper Grizzly Gulch, about one mile below the Blue Mountain Mine, where the gulch has been dug up by mining, was a Kumachisi village known as *Trahntrahnu.* Grizzly Gulch was known as *N'hawn Tultuh,* meaning the same as the present name. On Grizzly Gulch, just below where the Woody-White River road now crosses, was the Kumachese village of *Wuknaw.*

On Poso Creek there were a number of villages of the *Paleuyami.* In Lynns Valley, on the west branch of Poso Creek, was the village of *Hulmiu.* At Poso Flats, just below the upper forks of Poso Creek, were two Paleuyami villages, on the west side of the creek, *Siketepo* (Sick-e-te'-po) and on the east side, *Bakeu.* Further south, between Poso Creek and Kern River, where their channels approach closest to each other, was

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

101 the village of *Altau,* now known as Rancheria. On the north
103 bank of Kern River proper, in the extreme south-eastern cor-
● 131 ner of Paleuyami territory, was situated the village of *Shoko.*

361 On the road leading west, and about three and one-half miles below Woody, in Paleuyami territory, is an old spring named *Chawlul Ilkow,* or White Water. It was used as a stopping place on the old trail which led from Poso Creek via Willow Springs, Coyote Springs and Fountain Springs to Tule River.

[415] About a mile below Chawlul Ilkow and within a few feet of the present road there are some flat granite outcroppings which have many Indian mortars cut into them. In the gulch below are some cottonwood and willow trees. The village there was known as *Lapah Ilkow,* or Cottonwood Water. About one-fourth mile south are two large springs. This site was named *Lip'-trow* because of a medicinal root of that name which was harvested there.

[487] The old Indian trail from Poso Flats east to Little Poso was known as *Walwalu* (Wahl-wahl'-oo). It lay about one mile southwest of the present road and was parallel to it.

Rag Gulch was called *Baake* (Ba-a'-ke). At a fine spring on lower Rag Gulch, below Willow Springs, was a village of the same name.

Three miles southwest of the Long Tom Mine in Paleuyami territory was a village named *Wahkoiu* (Wah-koy'-oo).

Sansanu (Sahn-sahn'-oo) was the name of the bald ridge west of the junction of Poso and Little Poso. A village at the forks went by the same name. Poso Creek was known as Siketepo. Little Poso Creek was known as *Kawlkalu* (Kawl-kah'-loo). A village at the old Burke Ranch on Little Poso Creek, was known by the same name as the creek. *Hawewel* was a small hill just west of Altau where the Paleuyami mined a red earth paint pigment called *Haweyu.*

South of the Paleuyami, on lower Kern River, and probably as far south at Tejon Ranchos Headquarters, were the Yowlumne (Yowl-um'-ne). On the old channels of Kern River, probably within the present city limits of Bakersfield, was the Yowlumne village of *Woilo.* This tribe is treated more completely in a separate chapter.

On the southeastern shore of Tulare Lake about the mouths of Poso Creek and White River, and occupying the island in that lake which was later known as Atwell Island, were the

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

Wowol (Wo'-wol). Their principal village, *Sukwutnu* (Sook- 101
woot'-noo), was approximately fifteen miles due west of the 103
present city of Delano. On Atwell Island, present Alpaugh, 131
was the village of *Chawlowin* (Chaw-lo'-win), meaning City of
the Plains. There are probably no other known village-site 361
names of this tribe.

On Kern River, below the Yowlumne, and on Buena Vista and Bull Sloughs leading from Buena Vista Lake past Goose Lake toward Tulare Lake, were the *Tuhohi.*

The northern and eastern shore of Kern Lake was occupied by the *Hometwoli.* Three of their village sites are known. *Loasau* was located on an early channel of Kern River, three miles north of the eastern end of Kern Lake. *Pohalin* was about the same distance south of the eastern end of Kern Lake. *Halau* was on Old River channel, just before it entered Kern Lake Slough, between Kern and Buena Vista Lakes. This was the site of the later Mexican settlement known as La Consuela.

The territory south and west of Buena Vista Lake was occupied by the *Tulamni* tribe. These people ranged as far north as McKittrick, near where the village of *Wogatiu* was situated. At Bitter Water Creek near Taft was the village of *Hoschiu.* At the northwestern point of Buena Vista Lake was their main village, known as *Tulamniu* (Too-lahm'-ne-oo).

This last place is well known as the site excavated during 114
the winter of 1933-'34 by the Smithsonian Institution. Details of this work are covered in Bulletin 130, Bureau of American Ethnology, titled *Archeological Investigations at Buena Vista Lake, Kern County, California,* by Waldo R. Wedel. Buena Vista Lake was known by the same name as the Buena Vista Hills and the village between the hills and the lake, Tulamniu.

THE RIVER PEOPLE

The dress and habits of primitive people vary largely ac- 184
cording to the nature of the country in which they live and the animal and plant life upon which they must subsist. It is readily recognized not only that the Eskimo was forced to dress more warmly than the Yokuts Indians, but also that he had available many materials from which to prepare clothing not available to San Joaquin Valley tribes. The same thing might also be said about the food of the two peoples. To a lesser degree the Yokuts tribes themselves differed according to the

175 and saved his life, but was too late. The Delawares captured his horse.

"Riding along the open ground towards the valley after a mile or two we discovered ten Indians ahead going in the same direction. They saw us as well, but took no notice and did not quicken their gait. When we were about overtaking them they quietly turned into a close thicket which covered about eight acres. We gave the thicket a wide berth; for ten Indians in such a place were more dangerous than so many gray bear."

YOKUTS RELATIVES AND NEIGHBORS

101 931 619 The vast Yokuts group of tribes was closely related to four other large groups which once occupied almost half of what is now the State of California. From the extreme southern tip of Yokuts territory north of old Fort Tejon in the Tehachapi Range of mountains, their combined range extended northward nearly five hundred miles to the northern tip of *Wintun* territory in the drainage basin of Trinity River. From a point near Tomales Bay, north of San Francisco, about to Monterey, the range of this group of five related peoples extended to the Pacific Coast. This great territory comprised almost the entire well-watered, desirable agricultural lands of California and had no equal in western North America.

101 131 To the north and northeast of the Yokuts were the *Miwok* (Me'-walk). These people occupied the upper Sierra foothills from a point south of Mariposa, north to a point north of the Cosumne River. Mixed with their northern neighbors, they extended westward north of San Francisco Bay to the Pacific Coast. The tribes in and around Yosemite and Hetch-Hetchy valleys were Miwok. Although at first contact their language seems entirely foreign to Yokuts, familiarity shows that such is not the case. In disposition, appearance, lore and camp life [171] they are so similar to the Yokuts as to be easily mistaken for them.

There is reason to believe that the Yokuts once extended westward to the coast south of San Francisco Bay. There is enough evidence pointing in that direction to cause some authorities to so map them. But this area is sometimes described as the northern extreme of *Costanoan* territory. These Costanoeans, another group of Yokuts relatives, extended along the coast about as far south as Monterey.

On the west side of the Sacramento River and extending

from the deltas of the San Joaquin and Sacramento Rivers 101
north to Trinity River were the Wintun. Extending along the 131
western Sierra foothills from the Miwok to the Pit River drainage basin were the *Maidu* (My'-doo).

To the southwest, south, and southeast of the Yokuts were foreign blood and language groups of primitive peoples. The *Salinan* group occupied the territory directly to the southwest of the Yokuts, including the valley of the Salinas River. Practically nothing is known of them. It is doubtful if a single full-blood individual has been living since about 1890. The name, *Cholame,* is a Salinan word and is now applied to a locality which was once in their territory, which extended south to a point near the north end of the Carrizo Plains.

South of the Salinan were the *Canaliño,* who undoubtedly occupied the Carrizo Plains as far north as the Painted Rock and Soda Lake. This designation is based on a study of the rock paintings in Canaliño territory and the statements of Canaliño descendants at the Indian settlement in Tejon Canyon northeast of Tejon Ranchos Headquarters.

Cuyama Valley was held by the Canaliño. The word *Cuyama,* taken from their language, is said to mean Clam Shell. [103]

The only known name of a Canaliño tribe bordering on the Yokuts is that of the *Tokya,* who extended from a point west of Paleta to the eastern limits of the Canaliño. Upper San Emigdio, Tecuya, Grapevine, and Pastoria Creeks are reported as having been in Tokya territory. In the Canaliño language Rancho Viejo Creek, just east of Grapevine Canyon, was called *Kwat'-lah-tah Quab'-la-quad.* Sapateria Creek was *Kahshe Nashahmo,* meaning The People There Save Things.

The name of San Emigdio Creek, and the Indian Village there was *Lashlepun* (Lash'-le-poon). The name means Cut Through, because the creek there cuts deeply through the mountains.

The *Shoshonean* Indians of Tejon Canyon called Grapevine Canyon *Shehveng Gahchah Upeh,* which means exactly the same as the white man's name for the place. The Canaliño Indians called Grapevine Canyon *Mut-tahp'-cho Whel-leh'-we,* which means Cottonwood Trees.

The eastern limits of the Canaliño across the southern boundary of Yokuts territory are not definitely established. The rugged terrain between the Cuyama and Antelope valleys shows little evidence of primitive occupation. Somewhere in

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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this locality was probably the dividing line between the Canaliño and their neighbors to the east, the *Shoshoneans*.

The Shoshoneans were the largest and most powerful group bordering on the Yokuts. They extended from the Canaliño to the east and to the north as far as the Miwok. The names of some Shoshonean tribes have been preserved.

Occupying upper Tejon Canyon northeast of Tejon Ranchos Headquarters, the desert territory lying about Willow Springs, and Cummings and Bear valleys were the *Kitanemuk*. When asked for their tribal name some aged Tejon Indians will still answer, *"Ah kik-ke tah nim"*, meaning, my tribe is Kitanemuk." A Kitanemuk village was located on Tejon Creek six miles northeast of Tejon Ranchos Headquarters. It was named *Tusin Tinliu*. The site is now occupied by a settlement of Indians of mixed tribes.

The Kitanemuk Indian village on Tejon Creek where the Overland Stage Station was located was named *Ahyah Kahbe*, which means Cottonwood. The village at the mouth of Comanche Creek was named *Cheut* (Che'-oot) *Pahbe*. Comanche Creek and Comanche Point both went by the name of the village there. Comanche is a name applied by white people. The first canyon north of Comanche Creek, and also the Indian Village there, were called *Ahbahvo Kahse*. At the present White Wolf Ranch was a village called *Ahtuse* (Ah-too'-se). The mountain valley there had the same name. Tejon Canyon back of Tejon Ranchos Headquarters was named *Cutset* (Coot-seet) *Ahobe*. Bear Mountain was called *Kiets* (Ki'-eets). Where the Vaquero Headquarters is now at Tejon Ranchos was an Indian village named *Hunah Vahmutch*.

Occupying Tehachapi Valley and the country north through Walker's Basin were the *Kawaiisu*. This tribe occupied territory almost exactly opposite the Yowlumne. On Caliente Creek, where the town of Caliente is now located, was the Kawaiisu village of *Tumayo*. Another Kawaiisu village was *Tahichpiu*, after which modern Tehachapi was named.

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North of the Kawiisu were the *Bankalachi*. As this volume goes to press there is perhaps one aged full-blooded member of this tribe still living, *Las'-yeh*, of Tule River Indian Reservation. She is now probably ninety-five years of age and is still the active head of a household. Together with her late husband, she accompanied me over much of the territory once occupied by her tribe, as well as neighboring Yokuts territory,

Yowlumne

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CHAPTER II

THE YOWLUMNE

YOWLUMNE GEOGRAPHY

101 One of the most interesting of all tribes of Yokuts Indians
131 was the *Yowlumne* (Yowl-um'-ne). Their range was in every
direction from their central village, *Woilu,* located about where
now stands the Santa Fe passenger station in Bakersfield.
Along Kern River their upstream limits were about where the
second electrical power house is located in Kern Canyon. Their
[224] downstream limits were on the plains at about the Pioneer Wier
and Pioneer Bridge on Kern River. The Yowlumne hunted
antelope, rabbits and squirrels on the hills as far north as
Poso Creek. To the south they ranged to the shore of Kern
Lake south of present Greenfield. To the southeast they ranged
to within a few miles of the present Tejon Ranchos Headquarters.

[133] The most noted Yowlumne landmark was at the mouth of
Kern Canyon, where the waters of Kern River make a slight
[103] fall. This place was known as *Kaw'-naw Ill'-kin,* or Place
Where the Water Falls. It was a noted fishing place.

361 There was a Yowlumne village, *Wawcoye* (Waw-coy'-e),
103 on the south bank of Kern River just below the mouth of Cottonwood
Creek. This is still a beautiful site, well shaded by
[415] sycamores. It can be recognized by the many mortars, cut
into the granite boulders. These mortars are scattered from
the bridge at the old Rio Bravo Rancho, now often called the
Olcese Ranch, almost to the mouth of Cottonwood Creek.

Tesinliu was a Yowlumne village located on the north bank of Kern River northeast of the foot of China Grade. *Shoko* was the most easterly Yowlumne village. It was in Kern Canyon. The name means Windy Place. The Yowlumne village at Tejon Ranchos Headquarters, most southerly of their settlements, was named *Tinliu,* meaning Hole. *Pohalin Tinliu,* Squirrel Hole Place, was a Yowlumne village on the southeast shore of now extinct Kern Lake.

On the north side of Kern River, and beginning just below the bridge at the Rio Bravo Rancho, another Yowlumne Indian village straggled downstream for about a mile. It was named *Hawsu.*

Yowlumne

At this point in the account of the Yowlumne Indians it is necessary to make some explanation concerning their name. It appears in other printed literature as *Yauelmani.* I used this pronunciation until I had interviewed Wahumchah over a period of more than twenty years. One afternoon, when we were returning from a program before the Standard School in Oildale, he had the following to say: "You know, Mr. Latta, you make one bad mistake when you talk about my people. You call their tribe Yauelmani. That is wrong. The correct name is Yowlumne. Yauelmani means a little group of Yowlumne. I think sometime some old-timer white man met a few of my people. He asked them who they were and they said, 'Yauelmani'. That was right. But that was not their tribe name. I know that from all of my old people." 101 124

Since, after all, the Indian is the final authority, and since also, Wahumchah's correction corresponds with many other Yokuts tribe name endings, I have incorporated it in this work.

Wahumchah continued with his corrections: "You make one other bad mistake when you tell people that the name Tehachapi means Windy Place. I knew many old Indians from that place when I was a boy and I heard them explain that name. The Indians from that country call an oak-covered flat *Tah-heetch'* [Wahumchah's pronunciation was about midway between Tah-heetch and *Tah-hitch'*]. Tah-heetch'-e-pah meant People from the Oak Flat." 103

Since Wahumchah furnished his information concerning Tehachapi, I have interviewed several old Indians who have lived their entire lives around Tehachapi and Tejon Canyon. They have corroborated Wahumchah and have added that they still use the name, Tah-heetch. It is applied to the large, oak-covered flat north of the road just above Tejon Ranchos Headquarters. On an 1864 map of California in Johnson's *Atlas of the World* the name appears as *Taheechepah.*

Concerning the origin of the name Yowlumne, Wahumchah furnished the following: "Our people were known as the Wolf People. In the old days *Yowl'-its,* the big white wolf, lived in our country. In my language *Yowl* meant the same as it does in English. Yowlits meant howler. Yowlumne meant People of the Howlers."

The Yowlumne had their tribal limits set as definitely as did the other Yokuts tribes. They hunted, fished and gathered 101 131

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

Yowlumne

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131 foodstuffs and minerals well within their recognized boundaries.

Each Yokuts tribe was ruled by a Chief. He lived at the
622 principal, or head village. In Yowlumne territory this was
361 *Woilu,* on Reeder Hill, where now stands the Santa Fe passenger depot in Bakersfield. The next important Yowlumne village, *Tesinliu,* was located on the north bank of Kern River about three miles above the Discovery Well of the Kern River Oilfield. The third most important village was on the south side of Kern River just above the old Rio Bravo Rancho, now known as the Olecese place. The chiefs at the two upstream villages were responsible to the head chief at Reeder Hill.

Yokuts villages were almost always located on well traveled trails and sometimes at a point where two trails crossed. Important villages on rivers were often at a ford, or easy crossing, where a trail following the hills crossed another following the river. This was true of the village on Reeder Hill and the one between the Rio Bravo Rancho and the mouth of Cottonwood Creek.

624 The chiefs of these villages placed a *Winatun,* or private secretary, at a point where trails entered the village. It was
576 the responsibility of the Winatun to meet all approaching travelers, to learn who they were, what was their business, and, if possible, to give them what information was necessary and send them on their way. If the traveler was not so easily disposed of, it was then the duty of the Winatun to conduct him to the chief. After the interview it was the duty of the Winatun to conduct the traveler to the edge of the village and bid him goodbye.

This practice is still carried on at the camps or villages of of remaining Yokuts Indians. After having visited Indian camps and having gathered data from aged Indians for more than twenty-five years, this writer finds this feature one of the most pleasing Yokuts characteristics. It makes a visitor feel welcome to have someone appear and pass the time of day as he drives his car up to an Indian door. If he has time, the young man who is elected as a greeting committee of one will open any gates that are closed.

796 The Yowlumne periodically performed a ceremony that can be classed as a snake dance. Live rattlesnakes were used
574 and were handled by snake doctors, or special medicine men. Yokuts came to this dance from neighboring tribes as far away

136 antelope easy prey for the Indians and which was responsible
224 for the system of hunting known as the Antelope Surround.
Undoubtedly this system was used by many Yokuts subtribes.
However, our most detailed account of this is reported from
the *Koyeti*.

101 The Koyeti subtribe of Yokuts, of which there are now no
full-bloods living, occupied the territory adjacent to lower Tule
● 131 River from a point above Porterville, known as Chico Flats,
down to a point probably two or three miles west of the pres-
224 ent Southern Pacific Railroad north of Tipton. This tract of
[103] land was called by them *Kia-wit'-nau*. Their principal village
was near Porterville and was known as *Cho-ko-wish'-o*. From
individual Koyeti and from some accounts given by aged members of neighboring tribes, the details of the Antelope Surround are known.

224 The *Wukchumne* say that once or twice a year they used
to join with other surrounding tribes in aiding the Koyeti with
[476] the drive, providing probably a thousand drivers. One or two
Indians secreted themselves in the tall grass near a point where antelope were in the habit of watering. Drivers from the several tribes secreted themselves at a distance around this point.

When the antelope began to come to the water hole the two decoy Indians lay on their backs and raised their feet into the air above the grass. In some instances strips of skin, or woven grass, were tied to their feet, which were kicked backward and forward in a way to wave the attached materials before the antelope. It seems no antelope ever lived that was able to resist the temptation of approaching as closely as possible to such a performance. They were as fascinated as is a speeding automobile driver with an approaching passenger train. They would crowd together and circle about the Indians, first at a distance of several hundred yards and then gradually nearer, until, forgetful of everything else, many hundreds of them stood within a few yards of the decoys. Many times this system was used for the purpose of decoying and killing one or two antelope, but upon the occasion of the "surround" the game was not disturbed until the hundreds of scattered Indians had drawn inward and formed a complete circle, or Indian fence, around the huddled band of animals.

When the word was given, the decoys arose and fired into the band, probably killing two or three. As the band attempted

CHAPTER XXXV.

THE YO'-KUTS.

101 In the language of this nation *yo'-kuts* denotes "Indian" or "Indians", and *no'-no*, "man". (It is a singular fact that nearly every language has different words for "man" and "Indian".) As often before, so here again it is necessary to adopt a word in common use as a basis of classification, since they have no national name.

648 We have seen how the California Indians in the extreme northern part of their domain were, at the time of the American advent, being driven back and crushed out by the stronger and fiercer Athabascan races. Likewise in the southern part of their habitat this peaceful race was slowly giving way before the incursions of the more powerful and warlike Paiuti of Nevada. All along the eastern side of the great interior basin the Sierra [133] Nevada interposes an effectual barrier against the latter, protecting the Californians on that side; but the passes which occur at the northern and southern points of junction between the Sierra and the Coast Range allowed the Athabascan tribes and the Paiuti, respectively, to swarm in toward the rich and tempting plains of California, dispossessing the feebler peoples who were there before them.

Living as they do at the lower end of the great basin, the Yokuts received the brunt of the Paiuti attacks. So severe were the latter that the Yokuts, as a geographically solid body of allied tribes, were cut in two in one place and nearly in another. Their habitat stretched originally from ●[131] the Fresno River to Fort Tejon; but the Paiuti tribes, swarming through Ta-hi'-cha-pa, Tejon, and Walker's Passes, seized and occupied Kern River, White River, Posa Creek, and Kern Lake, thus completely severing the Yokuts nation, and leaving an isolated fragment of it at Fort Tejon, in

[pp. 1-368 not processed]

A nook of the mountains.

648 a nook of the mountains. Doubtless they would eventually have seized
all the streams emptying into Tulare Lake, but they seem to have become
[164] enervated by the malaria, and reduced to the same condition of sluggishness
as the people whom they displaced.

At the time of the American advent, therefore, the Yokuts occupied
131 the south bank of the Fresno; the San Joaquin, from Whisky Creek down
to the mouth of the Fresno; King's River, from Mill Creek down to the
mouth; the Kaweah, Tule River, and Deer Creek; the west shore of
Tulare Lake, and the isolated mountain-nook at Fort Tejon.

101 Their tribal distribution was as follows: On the San Joaquin, from
Whisky Creek down to Millerton, are the Chŭk'-chan-si; farther down, the
131 Pit'-ka-chi, now extinct. On King's River, going down stream, are the following
bands, in their order: Tis-e'-chu, Chai-nim'-ai-ni, It-i'-cha, Wi'-chi-kik,
Ta'-chi, No-toan'-ai-ti, the latter on the lake, the Tachi at Kingston.
On Dry Creek are the Kas-so'-vo; in Squaw Valley the Chu-kai'-mi-na.
On the Kaweah River, beginning in the mountains, are the Wik'-sach-i,
Wik-chum'-ni (in the foot-hills), Kau-i'-a (on the edge of the plains),
Yu'-kol (on the plains), Te'-lum-ni (two miles below Visalia), Chu'-nut (at
the lake). On Tule River are the O-ching'-i-ta (at Painted Rock), Ai'-a-pai
(at Soda Spring), Mai-ai'-u (on South Fork), Sa-wakh'-tu (on the main
river), Ki-a-wet'-ni (at Porterville). At Fort Tejon are the Tin'-lin-neh
(from *tin'-nilh*, "a hole"), so called on account of some singular depressions
in the earth in that vicinity. A little further north, near Kern Lake, are
the Po-hal'-lin-Tin'leh (squirrel-holes), so named on account of the great
number of ground-squirrels living in that place.

619 In the Yokuts nation there appears to be more political solidarity, more
capacity in the petty tribes of being grouped into large and coherent
masses, than is common in the State. This is particularly true of those
592 living on the plains, who display in their encampments a military precision
361 and regularity which are remarkable. Every village consists of a single
row of wigwams, conical or wedge-shaped, generally made of tule, and
[342] just enough hollowed out within so that the inmates may sleep with the
head higher than the feet, all in perfect alignment, and with a continuous
awning of brushwood stretching along in front. In one end-wigwam lives

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906) 1907
NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P. 168 not Processed]

THE YOKUTS LANGUAGE OF SOUTH CENTRAL CALIFORNIA.

The Indians of the Yokuts linguistic family, sometimes also called Mariposan, inhabited the southern end of the San Joaquin basin in California. Roughly, their territory extended from the Sierra Nevada to the Coast Range, and from the Tehachapi mountains which shut off the San Joaquin basin on the south from the desert, to the Fresno and Chowchilla rivers in the north. The higher Sierras all along this territory, and certain foothill regions in the south, were occupied by Indians belonging to the Shoshonean family. The great level stretch of valley throughout, and in most cases the foothills also, were occupied by the Yokuts. A detached branch of the family, known as the Cholovone, inhabited a small area on the east bank of the San Joaquin, in the vicinity of Stockton, considerably nearer the mouth of this river than the remainder of the stock. The Cholovone are perhaps entirely extinct and are certainly practically so. Their language is unknown except from one published vocabulary, which shows it to have been a Yokuts dialect not very different from the remainder of the family. 101 131 197*

The Yokuts were divided into a large number of groups somewhat resembling small tribes. As is not uncommon in California, each of these groups had a dialect, but, what is unusual in California, each had a distinct tribal name as well. The various dialects are on the whole closely related. Their general structure and their phonetic system are virtually identical. There is also considerable similarity in vocabulary. It is probable that Indians from Kern river and from Fresno river could have conversed, [619]

10: Beals & Hester E-4, 5 (no date) 1958
NS29 Yokuts NS29

A LACUSTRINE ECONOMY IN CALIFORNIA[1]

RALPH L. BEALS AND JOSEPH A. HESTER, JR.

121 IN ANOTHER PAPER we have proposed a new ecological classification
of the Indians of California.[2] In this paper, we describe in more detail
an example of a lake ecological type. The example is chosen because
it departs widely from the usual conception of the acorn economy of
101 the California Indians. The description will center on the Tachi, a
group of southern valley Yokuts, who are the best known of the lake-based tribes.

●131 The southern valley Yokuts, with their neighbors, the Buena Vista
Yokuts, occupy the central and western portion of the San Joaquin
Valley in California. The region is predominately a desert environ-
132 ment approximating the type of the Mohave Desert. The mean July
temperature ranges from 84 degrees in the valley to approximately 78 degrees in the foothills away from the valley, but summer daily maxima frequently are above 100 degrees, while mean January temperatures are between 40 and 44 degrees. The average annual precipitation for much of the area is less than 5 inches but rises to 10 inches toward the foothills. Some minor areas may register 15 to even 20 inches in the coast range mountains to the west, although it is not known that the Yokuts utilized these areas. In the modified Köppen classification, at least 85 percent of the area has a BWh climate similar to that of the Mohave Desert. Most of the remainder has hot steppe-

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[1] This paper is the product of a research program on California Indian Ecology conducted at the University of California, Los Angeles by Ralph L. Beals, Director, and Joseph A. Hester, Jr., Associate Director, and a staff of assistants. We are indebted to Dr. Harold Driver, University of Indiana, for suggestions.

[2] "A New Ecological Typology of the California Indians". Paper presented at the International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, Philadelphia, 1956.

animal, not a grazing animal and few suitable shrubs and trees grow 136
in the region. There were some herds of antelope, especially in the
eastern portions, and some tule elk. Even rabbits were less numerous
than in adjoining regions. In the most favorable sections burrows were
periodically flooded while elsewhere feed was scanty.

The Tachi Yokuts were located north and west of Tulare Lake. 361
Of the eight locatable Tachi settlements, six were on the sloughs near
Tulare Lake or on the shores of the lake itself; two were on the dry
plains west of the lake.[4] Each settlement consisted of one, and in most [342]
cases probably several, long wedgeshaped houses covered with tule [592]
mats and housing several families. Latta claims these sometimes reach
the length of 300 feet but most writers consider this excessive.[5] Kroeber [161]
cites Gabriel Moraga who visited the Tachi in 1806 and records
the range of some 60 to 800 persons for southern Yokuts villages.[6]
Moraga's report is suspect but other data suggest that most Tachi villages [114]
contain several hundred people.[7]

The location of settlements was importantly influenced by the 131
location and permanence of water. The lake shore itself offered difficulties, 361
for the surrounding terrain is relatively flat and in some
places a change of lake level of one foot would shift the lake margin
as much as 4 miles.[8] According to Gifford and Schenck when the lake
surface was 192 feet above sea-level, only 300 square miles was
covered, but at its highest level of 220 feet, the area was 800 square
miles. The highest level was unstable and villages located with reference
to this might at many times have no access to water. The 500
square miles between the lower and the highest level, was marshly and
"an area in which man could not have resided permanently."[9] Consequently,
the most desirable sites were on permanent sloughs offering
access to the lake but located on ground high enough to be out of
flood water. Some of the Yokuts, possibly including the Tachi, when [342]
they could not find a sufficiently elevated house site would raise
the floor by carrying in baskets of earth. In addition, the Tachi and 513

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[4] GAYTON, 1948 map. 2; KROEBER, p. 484, plate 47; LATTA, p. 13.
[5] LATTA, p. 90.
[6] KROEBER, p. 491.
[7] GAYTON, 1948, p. 13.
[8] LATTA, p. 30.
[9] GIFFORD and SCHENCK, pp. 8-11 .

12: Cook S-4 (no date) 1955 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P.31B]

121 Ecologically the great central valley of California forms a single unit. Nevertheless it is convenient for 133 the purposes of this paper to divide the entire area into two portions, north and south. The vast expanse from ● 131 Red Bluff to the Tehachapi is too extensive to cover demographically in a single exposition. Moreover, the northern tribes, the Wintun and Maidu, are physiographically clearly segregated from the southern by the northern extension of San Francisco Bay and the delta of the rivers. Hence we shall consider here only those peoples south of the Sacramento and American River watersheds.

The area possesses definite natural limits but its exact boundaries must be to some extent arbitrary. On the north the line has already been indicated: the south bank of the upper Bay and the Sacramento River as far upstream as a point five miles below the city of Sacramento and thence easterly along the El Dorado—Amador County line into the high mountains. This follows Kroeber's tribal boundary between the Maidu and the Sierra Miwok. On the west the line starts northeast of Mt. Diablo and follows the western edge of the San Joaquin Valley to the Tehachapi Mountains. On the east we include the Sierra Nevada as far as was reached by permanent habitation on the west slope. The southern extremity is represented by the crest of the Tehachapi.

133 The region designated embraces the territory of the Plains and Sierra Miwok, the Yokuts, the Western [10] Mono, the Tubatulabal, and the Kawaiisu. From the standpoint of habitat the area is diversified since it extends from the swampy valley floor through the oak country of the lower foothills into the transition life-zone of the middle altitudes. Perhaps an ecological segregation would be desirable. Such a procedure, however, would cut across tribal boundaries and make an accurate evaluation of population difficult. On the accompanying maps, areas are delineated, and numbered, [128] primarily for convenience of reference. At the same time they conform as closely as is feasible with the natural subdivisions of the territory marked out by river valleys, lakes, plains, and mountains. It should be stressed that they do not necessarily coincide precisely with the areas occupied by specific tribes or groups of tribes.

175 The demography of the central valley is rendered still more complex by the fact that the contact with the *161 white race took place in a series of steps rather than by a single overwhelming invasion. In central Mexico, or to a somewhat lesser degree in northwestern California, aboriginal life continued relatively untouched until there occurred a rapid and catastrophic occupation of the entire territory. As a result, the population was

[P. 40B]

*161 Miketsiu. This would indicate a population of nearly 150. For the Wowol the ethnographers give three villages, or an implied population of, say, 220. The total for the lakes would then reach 1,170, or very close to the general contemporary estimate of 1,000. The figure 1,100 may be accepted as a compromise.

TULARE LAKE BASIN 1,100

TULE RIVER, KERN RIVER, AND THE BUENAVISTA BASIN

*161
101
● 131
The remaining Yokuts territory is large in area but relatively small in population. It includes the watersheds of the Tule and Kern rivers together with those of the small creeks between (Deer, White, and Poso creeks) and Buenavista Basin south of Bakersfield (see maps 1 and 2, areas 1F and 1G). The tribes placed by Kroeber in the region are the Koyeti, Yaudanchi, Bokninuwad, Kumachisi, Bankalachi (Shoshonean), Paleuyami, Yauelmani, Hometwoli, Tuhohi, and Tulamni.

*161 G. W. Barbour (1852), in a letter dated July 28, 1851, said that the area bounded by Buenavista Lake, Tule River, and Paint Creek contained a population of about 2,000. Savage (Dixon, MS. 1875) said there were 1,700 on the Kern River and Barbour (1853) stated that, for treaty-making purposes in 1851, 1,700 congregated at Paint Creek below Tule River. The villages listed by Kroeber, Gayton, and Latta for the various tribes are as follows: Bokninuwad 2, Hometwoli 3, Koyeti 8, Kumachisi 6, Paleuyami 7, Tuhohi 1, Tulamni 3, Yaudanchi 8, and Yauelmani 7. The total is 45. The village size indicated by Derby for the Tulare Lake Basin and adjacent valley territory is 60 or 70; that for the hill regions is undoubtedly smaller. If we take 40 persons as the average village population, the aggregate for the region would be 1,800 and if we take 50 persons, it is 2,250. We cannot be far in error in setting the population at Barbour's value, 2,000.

TULE-KERN-BUENAVISTA 2,000

On the basis of gross estimates and semicomprehensive counts for the entire region the population for the San Joquin Valley and neighboring foothills in 1851 was tentatively set at 8,600 (p. 34). The detailed consideration of the seven subdivisions of the entire region, as above, leads to an estimate of 19,000, as set forth in the following recapitulation.

Stanislaus-Tuolumne	2,000
Merced-Mariposa-Chowchilla	2,500
Cosumnes-Mokelumne-Calaveras	1,000
Fresno-San Joquin	3,800
Kings-Kaweah	6,600
Tulare Lake Basin	1,100
Tule-Kern-Buenavista	2,000
Total	19,000

It is believed that this total is more reliable than that previously given for several reasons. In the first place, it is derived from a careful consideration of all available sources in detail. In the second place, the preliminary estimate was weighted heavily by the reports of government officials, who saw principally those Indians with whom they were able to make treaties or whom

*161 It was overrun by clerical and military expeditions in 1804, 1812, 1814, 1815, and 1819, not to mention an indefinite number of private raiding parties which have left no trace in the documents. From 1820 to 1850 it was entered repeatedly by ranchers from the coast, American trappers of the Jedediah Smith variety from the southwest or north, and by New Mexican bandits. All these took a toll in the form of mission converts, battle casualties, burnt food stores, and disrupted village life. Finally, it should be remembered that the dry and arid plains of modern Kings, Tulare, and Kern counties bear no resemblance to the former region of rivers, sloughs, swamps, and lakes which once supported [133] uncounted millions of game birds and animals, together with a luxurious vegetation capable of supporting a very dense human population.

TULARE LAKE BASIN 6.500

THE KAWEAH RIVER

●131 Together with the Tulare Lake Basin the lower Kaweah River and its delta from Lemon Cove to below *161 the town of Tulare was probably one of the most densely populated spots in California, or possibly even north of the Valley of Mexico (see maps 1 and 3, area 3). The repeated comment of the missionaries with respect to the "infinidad de gentiles" to be found there creates a subjective impression which is borne out by the numerical data we possess.

There seem to have been two rather indistinctly separated divisions of the region. One, centering around Visalia and occupying the delta and sloughs, contained [101] three tribes, the Telamni, Wolasi, and Choinok, of which the Telamni were the most important and numerous. The other, centering around Lemon Cove and probably extending some distance into the lower foothills, included the Wukchamni, Gawia, and Yokod,' the largest group being the Wukchamni.

*161 Martin entered the delta in 1804 and called the people Telame. Moraga in 1806 explored it more thoroughly. According to the Muñoz diary (Oct. 19-20), the party noted Telame with 600 souls, together with a "big rancheria" one league east and the rancheria Cohochs two and one-half leagues east. In addition there were "otras varias rancherias" in the vicinity. The village list appended to the diary gives Telami I ("tendra segun corto computo 600 almas"), Telame II with 200 souls, Uholasi with 100, Eaguea with 300, and Cohochs with 100. Uholasi is no doubt Wolasi, and Eaguea and Cohochs are probably respectively Gawia and Yokod. If the last two are omitted, it is evident that Moraga saw or knew about four rancherias, Telame I and II, Uholasi, and the unnamed big rancheria. To these must be added the "otras varias rancherias," which may have amounted to another four, or eight in all. A population of 2,000 to 4,000 is certainly indicated.

Cabot in 1814 was the next visitor who left a record. He referred to the "Roblar de Telame Rio," which included Telame, the largest rancheria in the Tulares. Cabot's Telame may well have included both the villages to which this name was ascribed by Morgan. If so, on Moraga's figures it must have contained a minimum of 800 persons. A higher number is more probable, however, in view of the fact that it was the largest in the area.

In 1816 Father Luís Antonio Martinez passed through

12: Cook 5-4 (no date) 1955 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P.49B]

THE KINGS RIVER

*161 The next region to be considered is the basin of the Kings River. Like the Kaweah, this stream may be 101 divided into three sectors. The first comprises the ●131 delta and slough area southwest of Kingsburg and was the home of the Yokuts tribes, Apiachi, Wimilchi, and Nutunutu (area 4A). The second includes the valley margin and foothills, with the tribes Wechihit, Aiticha, Choinimni, Chukamina, Michahai, and Emtimbich (area 4B). The third is in the higher foothills and embraces the territory of the Mono groups, Wobunuch and Holkoma (area 4C).

The Kings River sloughs were first described in 1804 *161 by Martin, who mentions the tribe, or rancheria, of Notonto (Nutunutu) but gives no population data. The next visitor was Moraga in 1806. In the diary of the expedition, written by Father Muñoz, no mention is made of Notonto but in the appended "List of rancherias visited in this trip and the one in April" are included Notonto I with 300 persons and Notonto II with 100. Estudillo saw the region in 1819 and said that Notonto (only one village of this name is mentioned) had 303 men "todos gente robusta y de armas." He also saw a few old women and children. Since the men are of the same type ("robust warriors") and were carefully counted in the same way as at Chischa, the same ratio of warriors to total inhabitants may be used. A population of 866 is thus indicated or, in round numbers, 850. Estudillo also says there were four chiefs, one each of [622] the "Notontos," Gumilche, Guchetema, and Tateguy. The Nutunutu are thus clearly segregated from the Wimilchi (Gumilche). The other two names cannot be traced and may indeed have been those of individuals. The "guimilchis," in the meantime, had been seen in 1815 by Pico, who says that they had at least two rancherias.

From the ethnographers we get indication of six [361] villages: of the Apiachi, the village of Wohui (Kroeber, Gayton, Latta); of the Nutunutu, the villages of Chiau (Kroeber, Gayton, Latta), Hibekia (Kroeber), Honotau (Gayton), and Kadestiu (Latta); of the Wimilchi, the village of Ugona (Kroeber, Gayton, Latta). If these villages actually existed in the early years of the nineteenth century, they can scarcely have held less than 250 persons apiece and the population would have been in the vicinity of 1,500.

[361] From the Spanish accounts we find evidence of at least four villages: originally two (perhaps later one) of the Nutunutu and two of the Wimilchi. One of the latter may have been in fact the principal village of the Apiachi. The Nutunutu, whether as a single village or as a tribe, seem to have amounted to fully 850 persons at the time of Estudillo. Since these groups had been exposed to expeditions beginning in 1804, it is very probable that they had undergone considerable attrition before they were observed by Estudillo. This point of view is supported by Estudillo's remark that he requested the warriors of Notonto to meet him without their weapons because this rancheria "es la mas velicosa y terrible de los Tulares." Hence it is quite probable that the aboriginal population reached 1,200. A value of 500 may be assigned arbitrarily to the other villages or tribes, for Estudillo mentions three chiefs apart from the Notontos and Pico says that the Wimilchi had at least two rancherias. The probable aboriginal population for the entire area is therefore 1,700.

By the year 1850 the tribes of the Kings River delta were represented, according to the account of G. H.

[P.5/B]

177 village life completely—as is suggested by the fact that the rancheria was "divided" when the horses arrived. In
*16 order to catch the horses for food other horses were essential for rapid transportation to and from the coastal
262 settlements. New arts and skills had to be learned, and new categories of labor had to be evolved.

Rodriguez found among the Hoyima as a whole 87 to 107 live horses (27 captured, 60-80 in the wilderness), which were presumably about to be killed and eaten, together with 100 animals already slaughtered. The total thus reached approximately 200. The question now is pertinent: how much food can be obtained from 200 horses? If we assume that each of these relatively light range animals weighed 800 pounds, we may deduct about 25 per cent to account for bones, hide, certain of the viscera, and other inedible parts, leaving 600 pounds which the Indians could and did consume. The aggregate is 120,000 pounds of meat. If this meat was dried and preserved, according to general practice, it was suffi-
[25] cient to supply 329 persons the equivalent of one pound of fresh meat per day for one calendar year. If it had to be consumed immediately or within a few days, and if every man, woman, and child ate 20 pounds apiece, it was adequate for 6,000 people. If the entire tribe, not merely one rancheria, divided the meat into equal shares, and if the tribe numbered 1,000 persons, then the share of each individual amounted to 120 pounds. Whether these figures are strictly accurate is irrelevant. They merely emphasize that a quite sizable group must have been concerned. We may therefore regard the Hoyima as being as large a tribe as the Pitcache, and estimate that the population was at least 1,000.

*161 The remaining two tribes in the valley proper, as listed by Kroeber and others, were the Heuchi and the
[10] Chauchila. They occupied the north bank of the Fresno River and the distributaries of the Chowchilla River.
● [31] The ethnographic data include no more than one or two villages for each tribe. The Heuchi are referred to by Rodriguez, who says that the rancheria of the "Jeuche" was completely deserted. However, since it was the principal tribal village, it must have contained at least 200 persons. The Chauchila were also noticed by Rodriguez, who says that at "Chausila" he "captured" 142 people and "killed many." If we concede that as many escaped as were captured or killed, there must have been fully 400 in all.

101 The Nupchenches, although they are merely mentioned
131 as a possible tribe by Kroeber (Handbook, p. 485) and are doubtfully recorded by Schenck (1926), occupied an
*161 important position in the early nineteenth century. Indeed, the failure of Kroeber and Schenck to consider them seriously makes it necessary to set forth in some detail the information about them contained in the Spanish reports.

These natives were distributed along the San Joaquin River from its big bend near Mendota to approximately the mouth of the Merced (see map 4, area 5A). The first mention of them is by Moraga in the diary of 1806. He found two rancherias, Nupchenche with 250 people and Cutucho with 400 souls which was "junto a la primera llamada Nupchenche." This means that Cutucho was close to but at that time not necessarily part of Nupchenche.
[361] From the description in the diary Nupchenche was situated at or near the mouth of Santa Rita Slough in T9S, R12E, and this is almost exactly where Schenck places it on his map (Schenck, 1926, p. 133). The next visitor who left a record was José Dolores Pico in 1815. On
*161 November 7 he left San Luis Gonzaga in western Merced County (in approximately T10S, R8E) and went east to the

[P. 54A]

*161 axis of the valley the villages were numerous, some of them containing 50 to 100 houses or at least 250 to 500 people.

*161 What happened to these villages is graphically told in Warner's own words.

731

> On our return, late in the summer of 1833, we found the valleys depopulated. From the head of the Sacramento to the great bend and slough of the San Joaquin, we did not see more than six or eight Indians; while large numbers of their skulls and dead bodies were to be seen under almost every shade-tree near water, where the uninhabited and deserted villages had been converted into graveyards; and on the San Joaquin River, in the immediate neighborhood of the larger class of villages, which, in the preceding year, were the abodes of a large number of those Indians, we found not only graves, but the vestiges of a funeral pyre. At the mouth of King's river we encountered the first and only village of the stricken race that we had seen after entering the great valley.

✓

*161 This was the pandemic of 1833, concerning which, in comparison with some accounts, Warner's description is a model of conservatism.

It is evident that a combination of circumstances prevents us from making an adequate assessment of the aboriginal population of the lower Merced River and adjacent segments of the San Joaquin. Our density figure is about half the expected value. If we had the full facts, we could perhaps double the estimated population. Under existing conditions we can feel reasonably sure of the value given for the area between the Mariposa and the San Joaquin rivers.

MARIPOSA-SAN JOAQUIN 19,000

THE SOUTHERN SAN JOAQUIN VALLEY

The southern end of the valley, beyond Tulare Lake and the Kaweah River, can best be considered in three parts. The first is the foothill strip from the Kaweah to the Tejon Pass, which was inhabited by the Yokuts tribes Koyeti, Yaudanchi, Bokninuwad, Kumachisi, Paleuyami, and Yauelmani (maps 1 and 2, area 1G). The second comprises the lower Kern River together with the former Buenavista Lake basin. This area was held by the Yokuts tribes Hometowoli, Tuhohi, and Tulamni. The third includes the peripheral fringe of relatively high foothill and mountain country of the southern Sierra Nevada and Tehachapi and was inhabited by non-Yokuts people: Tubatulabal, Kawaiisu, Kitanemuk, and the Tokya branch of the Chumash (maps 1 and 2, areas 1A to 1E).

Only the Koyeti are described by the Spanish authorities hitherto consulted. Moraga mentions the rancheria Coyahete with a population of 400 in 1806. Estudillo in 1819 found a rancheria, which he called Arroyo de Copaipich, with 200 and one called Canyon Agapa with 400 people. The latter may perhaps be Moraga's Coyahete. If so, the tribe had a population of at least 600 in 1819, but it must have suffered some decline prior to that year. Latta's informants were able to remember 8 villages. Moreover, the tribe was oriented ecologically toward the Kaweah delta and oak forest, although it was actually situated on the lower Tule River. Thus an estimate of 800 persons would not be too much for the pre-

● [131]

[P. 59 B]

*161 As for the Pitemis, Viader, on his first expedition, left Pescadero on August 20, 1810, and traveled south-southeast at some distance from the river. Within 3 leagues he passed ". . . en frente de una rancheria . . . Aupemis." Schenck says (p. 141): "Pitemis is a village of the Leuchas and it seems that Aupimis is to be identified with it." This cannot be true because Viader is highly explicit to the effect that he was west of the river and Amador is equally emphatic in stating that Pitemis was across the San Joaquin from Leuchas, i.e., to the east of it. Since Viader's visit was in 1810, after the Cuevas affair, there must have been three rancherias of the Leuchas and their allies: Aupimis, Pitemis, and Coybos.

114 Parenthetically, and for the record, the present writer would like to offer the comment that certain modern writers tend to assert the identity of Spanish or Indian names without adequate evidence. Schenck's opinion that Aupimis and Pitemis were the same place could have been based upon no more than a fancied resemblance in the names. Also, on page 141 of his paper he says: "The Leuchas might possibly be identified with Kroeber's Lakisamni (Yokuts) on the Stanislaus river." A brief examination of the mission records, apart from any other evidence, shows conclusively that two separate and distinct tribes were recognized by the contemporary missionaries.

(Leuchas et al. .... 900)

*161 ●[131] Ochejamnes.—This tribe is placed by Schenck on the east bank of the Sacramento River near the mouth of the Cosumnes. Kroeber refers to the village of Ochehak and considers it a "political community." He shows it on his map (1925, p. 446) as lying on the Mokelumne, due north of Stockton. Duran, in his diary, May 21 (MS, 1817), describes how he followed the main stream of the Sacramento, i.e., the left branch, on his way back from his stopping point above Courtland. He reached the rancheria "llamada de Oche jamnes," which, although it contained 40 houses, was deserted. Quite soon thereafter ("a poco rato") he reached "la punta de la isla llamada de los Quenemsias," which has been identified definitely as Grand Island. Clearly, therefore, in 1817 the Ochejamnes had a village on the Sacramento higher up the river than is shown by Schenck.

According to Duran the village had 40 houses, which would mean 360 persons without reckoning possible subsidiary rancherias. The name is mentioned for only one mission, San Jose, at which 428 Ochejamne, or Oocheganes, were baptized between 1829 and 1836. This is prima facie evidence that Duran, who saw them in 1817, was referring, as he implies, only to one rancheria and that the tribe was actually larger. This idea is supported by the account of José Berreyesa in 1830 of severe Indian fighting in the delta (Berryesa, MS, 1830). The Ochejamnes and the Yusumnes with certain American trappers were arrayed against the Californians, who had gathered together 450 auxiliary fighters from the Cosumnes and other tribes. No value is placed upon the number of Ochejamnes but it must have been considerable. It was probably as a result of this campaign that 428 members of the tribe were baptized at Mission San Jose. Even with a relatively complete conquest many of the natives must have escaped; hence in 1830 their total number must have reached 500. But this was in 1830, after a generation of expeditions and petty warfare. The aboriginal number must have been considerably greater, let us say 750. [6A8]

(Ochejamnes .... 750)

*161 **Guaypem.**—This group is thought by Schenck to have been simply a village but Merriam (1907, p. 350) ● [131] regards them as a tribe called the Wipa, located on Sherman Island near the Sacramento River estuary. Duran in his diary says that Guaypens is 6 leagues south and southeast of the fork of the river below Courtland. Allowing for his usual exaggeration of distances, this puts the rancheria near the mouth of the Mokelumne, in the vicinity of Walnut Grove. He speaks of the rancheria "de los Guaypens" and saw only a few people. Thus neither size nor locality supports the contention that [199] Guaypem was synonymous with Wipa. The tribe was not converted until relatively late, 41 converts being taken to San Jose between 1821 and 1824. By that time the tribe had been subject to severe attrition. Thus the evidence points to an aboriginal group consisting of one village of average size, or close to 300 inhabitants.

(Guaypem .... 300)

Quenemsias.—These people, who lived near the two preceding tribes, are designated a "group" by Schenck [131] (p. 136). They covered, according to him, "the southern part, or perhaps all, of Grand Island." The ecclesiastical diarists make no mention of them save the reference by Duran to the "isla llamada de los Quenemisias." One other citation is worth mentioning, however. In the Bancroft Transcripts is a document dated January 31, 1796, entitled "Informe en el cual el teniente Herm^do^ Sal manifesta lo que ha adquirido de varios sugetos para comunicarlo al Gobernador de la Provincia," which gives a description of the lower reaches of the San Joaquin and Sacramento rivers and the delta and mentions the natives (Sal, MS, 1796). In detail, the account is extremely inaccurate. However, one of the Indians ". . . dio noticia de las naciones Tulpunes, Quinensiat, Taunantoc, y Quisitoc: los primeros son de la orilla del estero; los 2^os^ estan del otro lado de los rios . . . ." Although no numerical data are given, the mention of the Quenemsias (Quinensiat) as a "nacion" in the delta region establishes them as a group of more than average importance. The mission books show 185 Quenemsias baptized at Mission San Jose. Roughly double the number of baptisms may be taken as the aboriginal population, i.e., 400.

(Quenemsias .... 400)

Chuppumne, Chucumnes.—Schenck places these two settlements, which he calls villages, on the Sacramento River near the mouth of the Cosumnes. Most of our documentary information concerning them is derived from the accounts of Duran and of Luís Argüello. Luís Antonio Argüello accompanied Duran on his expedition and wrote a report to the governor in the form of a letter, dated May 26, 1817, the original of which is preserved in the Bancroft Library (library no. fm-F864A64; also typed copy). The existence of this letter evidently was not known to either Kroeber or Schenck. It is less complete and less detailed than the diary of Duran but it is of value in checking the statements made by the latter.

On May 16 the party reached the foot of Grand Island and on May 17 proceeded up the left-hand (i.e., western) watercourse. The village of Chucumnes was found 8 leagues (leguas) upstream, according to Duran, 13 miles (millas) according to Argüello. The latter estimate is [114] probably closer, since Duran is notoriously inaccurate (usually on the side of overestimate) in his computation of distances.

[P.60B]

*161 of distances. Here Duran counted 35 houses whereas Argüello says 36, a sufficiently close correspondence. As indicated previously, a population of 315 persons is probable. Continuing their journey, they went on for 4 miles (Argüello); Duran says approximately 3 leagues. There they stopped at a rancheria, "arruinada" according to Argüello, although Duran makes no mention of this.

On May 18 the party went on upstream, making during the day 4 leagues (Duran) or 16 miles (Argüello). Duran states that after going 1 league they got back into the main stream of the Sacramento. This was clearly at the head of Grand Island, close to Courtland. At 1 league beyond this point, on May 19, they found the rancheria Chuppumne, which was deserted. The location therefore was very close to that shown by Schenck on his map (p. 133) and, if we can put any credence in the Duran-Argüello account, a good many miles north of Chucumes. Near Chuppumne Duran saw three other rancherias in the distance (inland ?) but could not get at them. On May 20 the expedition pressed on upstream for 5 miles (Argüello) or 4 leagues (Duran), at which point they turned around and began the return trip. On May 21 Argüello says that they passed "algunas rancherias," all deserted, which may well have been those mentioned by Duran on May 19.

On the river frontage covered from May 17 to May 21 the expedition saw a minimum of 6 villages, 2 of which are mentioned by name (Chucumes and Chuppumne) and for 1 of which the houses were counted. If all these villages were of comparable size—as they may have been aboriginally—then the total population represented would have been 1,800. This estimate would of course not include other villages which the expedition did not see.

[795] [799] The mission records show for San Jose a total of 377 persons baptized from Chucumne and Chuppumne, of whom 322 were converted during 1823 and 1824. We may predicate, therefore, a residual population of 700 to 800 just prior to those years. That the area had suffered severely before that is attested by the deserted and "ruined" rancherias seen by Duran in 1817. It is quite probable that the aboriginal population reached a value of 1,500.

(Chucumes, Chuppumne .... 1,500)

Chupunes (Chupcanes), Tarquines (Tarquimenes, Tauquines), Julpunes (Tulpunes) and Ompines.—This constellation of tribes is best considered collectively, first, because there are no direct estimates of their population, and second, because they occupied a relatively unified area.

[131] Schenck places them along the south shore of Suisun Bay from the east entrance of Carquinez Strait and through the slough region between the Sacramento and San Joaquin rivers as far upstream as Isleton on the Sacramento. However, he points out that there is great uncertainty with respect to their exact location, an uncertainty which is emphasized by the wide divergence between his views and those of Merriam. Even the Spanish accounts present numerous discrepancies. In view of this state of our knowledge Schenck makes the very reasonable suggestion that the lower delta tribes may have been so greatly disturbed and shifted around during the period from 1775 to 1810 that the aboriginal locations were forgotten. It is worth while to examine in some detail some of the evidence on this problem. We may begin with examination of the area at and just east of Carquinez Strait on the south shore of Suisun Bay. This

*161 Argüello and Duran both refer to the "tierra" of the Ompines. The hypothesis is possible, although admittedly there is no real proof, that the Ompines may have originally occupied the sloughs and islands at and above Antioch, that they may have been pushed north at an early date by Spanish intrusion from the south and west, and that they may have been further dispersed, or exterminated without extensive conversion, prior to 1830. If such a theory in any way represents the course of their decline and disappearance, then it also follows that the aboriginal population was considerably greater than the baptism number would lead one to suppose.

*161 ● 131 To turn now to the Julpunes, there seems to be little difference of opinion regarding their original location. This was as Schenck pictures it: the south shore of the San Joaquin estuary from Antioch to the line between R3E and R4E. The "Informe" of Hermengildo Sal, written in 1796 and previously referred to, specifies the "Tulpunes" as a "nacion" living on the "orilla del estero." Fourteen years later in 1810 Viader went 7 leagues from Pittsburg to the "old river" west of Stockton. He was: " . . . esta tierra es de los Tulpunes." Duran, May 24, 1817, on his return journey downstream reached the region of the Julpunes at 8:00 A.M. and joined the other boat at 6:00 P.M. of the same day at Carquinez Strait.

Schenck (1926, p. 137) points out that Kotzebue, who was in the area in 1823, implies that the Julpunes were living on the north bank. Merriam (1907, p. 348), says that the Hulpoomne "occupied the east bank of the Sacramento River from a few miles south of the mouth of American river southward . . . ." Schenck's explanation of the discrepancy appears to the present writer entirely sound: the Julpunes retired across the estuary to the north bank and then upstream nearly to Sacramento. In so doing they may very well have carried the surviving Ompines with them. The San Jose record lists 148 baptisms of Julpunes but the name is absent from the records of San Francisco, Santa Clara, San Rafael, and Solano missions. Along with the Ompines the Julpunes must have escaped the active proselyting effort of San Rafael, and particularly Solano, between 1824 and 1834, by a rapid retirement so far up the river as to elude the parties sent out from the missions. The converts at San Jose must have been captured by the Viader, Duran, Argüello, and similar expeditions before the migration upstream.

*161 114 [131] The Tarquines are claimed by Schenck to have been " . . . a single group. It seems to have stretched from east to west entirely across the marsh area between the main channels of the Sacramento and San Joaquin rivers, and then to have extended along the southern shore of Suisun Bay" (pp. 134-136). Schenck's belief in this remarkable distribution is based upon three documentary references (at least he cites no more than these three in his tabulation on p. 135).

The first of the three documents, chronologically, is the first expedition of Viader, in 1810. In his entry for August 17 Viader says that, having spent the preceding night near the present location of Pittsburg, he reconnoitred these lands which " . . . son de los Tarquines, que lo mas, ó casi todos son Cristianos de San Francisco." After noting the mouths of the two rivers, he goes on to mention a spot on the estuary ". . . en donde dicen estaba la rancheria de los Tarquines" (emphasis mine). Let it be emphasized that in 1810 the Tarquines are almost all Christians in San Francisco, and Viader saw there the rancheria which was, or had been, that of the Tarquines. The San Francisco baptism book shows 18 "Talquines" converted in 1801 and 63 more in 1802, making a total of 83. This number could well be the

*161 114 majority, or almost all, the inhabitants of a moderate-sized rancheria. Schenck is therefore technically correct in placing the tribe on the south shore of the eastern end of Suisun Bay.

The second document is the diary of Abella in 1811. On October 25, in the course of the return trip downstream, some distance below the junction of the channels of the San Joaquin, he found a rancheria of the Tauquimenes, one part of each side of the river, which was 30 to 40 varas wide. This point was apparently at or near the head of Sherman Island. The rancheria had 60 houses. He saw 200 warriors. He then crossed through the sloughs to the Sacramento River and on or opposite Sherman Island saw one rancheria of 14 houses and several of 2 to 3 houses. He says that all they passed this day was ". . . parte de una isla" (i.e., Sherman Island). Furthermore

> . . . en todo este dia andubimos como unas 12 leguas [overestimate] y podra haver gente, como 200 almas, todavia puede que haiga mas, porque en la primera [rancheria] habraumas 1,000, segun lo grande que por aqui son las casas, tienen un circuito de 28 o 30 varas, con su orcon en medio . . .

This account deserves comment on several grounds: with relation to Viader's visit of the previous year and the baptisms at San Francisco it is evident that whereas the southern extension of the Tarquines' habitat, whatever its size, had been swept clear prior to 1810, nevertheless the tribe persisted on the estuarine islands in truly large numbers. Moreover, since there is evidence of no more than one rancheria on the south shore, it appears that the territory in that region allotted by [131] Schenck to the tribe is too large and should be restricted to a small area of the southeastern corner of Suisun Bay.

With respect to population, Abella's figures are quite credible. It has been suggested that one of the huge houses found in this region could accommodate 9 persons without difficulty. Then the large village should have had 540 inhabitants. Allowing 24 houses for the other villages seen, 216 persons should be added, making a total of 756, a figure not far from Abella's guess of 1,000.

The final reference to the tribe occurs in the diary of Duran. During the night of May 22-23, 1817, he went up the main channel of the San Joaquin, in T3N, R4E, and passed the Tauguimenes on the left, that is to say, on the east bank. Schenck thinks that the group covered the entire strip from Pittsburg to the east bank of the main river contemporaneously. Now it has been pointed out as probable that the southwestern outliers were missionized, or pushed back into the swamps, as early as 1801. It is equally possible that the island communities described by Abella in 1811 were pushed, in the next five or six years, off the islands altogether and clear back eastward to the far bank of the main river. Of considerable significance is the fact that whereas both Viader and Abella mention the Tarquines as being in the estuary region, Duran, who covered this area thoroughly, is completely silent with regard to their presence. It is highly unlikely that, had there been any of the tribe left in their former habitat, he would have failed to note them.

*161 The details are very obscure but the main outlines of events in the first three decades of the nineteenth century can be perceived. Aboriginally and perhaps till nearly 1800, there was a dense population of natives extending from Port Costa along the southern shore of Suisun Bay and up the rivers for fifteen miles beyond

*161 the human population is concentrated along the stream banks to the exclusion of the interfluvial hinterland. Where a territory is marked by a network of creeks and sloughs, and the intermediate land is marsh, the linear comparisons become impossible. Areas must be substituted.

In relation to the present problem three such areas may be delineated. The first comprises the territory of the Bolbones (including all the subordinate villages) [131] and the Leuchas. Following Schenck's map, it embraces all the land between the channels of the San Joaquin plus a strip approximately two miles wide east of the main river in T1 and 2S, R6E which accounts for the Leuchas. The area, as projected from a large-scale map onto coördinate paper, is 775 square miles, the population 3,400, and the density 4.39 persons per square mile. The second comprises the home of the Ochejamnes, Guaypem, Quenemsias, and Chucumnes-Chuppumne. For the habitat of these groups we have followed Schenck as far as possible. Our line runs actually from the junction of the east and west channels of the Sacramento at the foot of Grand Island southeast to the main channel of the San Joaquin, thence northeast and north to just east of Walnut Grove and then, at a distance of about 2 miles east of the eastern channel of the Sacramento, to a point 4 miles north of Courtland. Here the line crosses the river and continues downstream, 2 miles west of the river, to the starting point. This strip of the western bank of the western branch of the Sacramento is included in order to take in the Chucumes, who may have lived on the west side of the river. The area of this territory is 330 square miles, the population 2,950, and the density 8.94 persons per square mile.

The third area is the one shown by Schenck as belonging to the Chupunes, Tarquines, Julpunes, and Ompines, with the exception of the region east of the San Joaquin attributed to the Tarquines. For reasons stated previously the author does not believe that the Tarquines occupied this spot aboriginally. A strip 2 miles wide is included on the north shore, however, between Rio Vista and [131] Collinsville, in the probable land of the Ompines. The eastern boundary is formed by the borders of areas one and two. In area three there are 600 square miles. The mean of the densities of the other two areas is 6.67 persons per square mile. Hence the population would have been 4,002 persons. No significance should be attributed to the third and probably also the second digit in these numbers. They are used only for purposes of estimate.

The three methods employed have yielded respectively 3,000, 2,000, and 4,000 as the most likely population of the five groups here being discussed. In default of any other evidence we may take the average 3,000.

(Chupunes, Tarquines, Ompines, Julpunes . . . 3,000)

Adding the totals for the tribes known to inhabit the delta region of the great rivers and the southern shore of Suisun Bay, we arrive at a total population of 9,350.

Delta area 9,350

It is now preferable to depart from a strictly tribal sequence and revert once more to a classification based upon river basins. Three areas of this type are sufficiently clearly marked out; those corresponding to (1) the Cosumnes River, (2) the Mokelumne River, and (3) the lower San Joaquin River from just below the Merced to the head of tide water near Manteca. The inhabitants may be designated village or tribal groups in accordance with the river system where they were located.

[P.71B]

APPENDIX

*161 include the 'Mono' tribe which is the most numerous of any tribe . . . ."

128 Record Group 75. Letters received Calif., 1859. Enclosure to document no. M 66. M. B. Lewis, Fresno Agency, Aug. 30, 1859.

A report on the 22 tribes which recognize the Fresno Agency as their headquarters. Abstracted as follows: *161

127 131 ●

Wel-leelch-um-nies:	the most northerly tribe; is "temporarily" on the Tuolumne River because of displacement by the whites.	85
Poto-en-cies:	have abandoned their native land, the Merced Valley and are now on the Chowchilla.	110
Noot-choos:	"a union of the remnant of other tribes," including some Yosemites. Now on the north fork of the Chowchilla.	85
Po-ho-nee-chees:	on the headwaters of the Fresno.	105
Chow-chillas:	have moved from the Chowchilla to the Fresno River.	85
Cooc-chances:	the largest "unbroken" tribe in the agency, originally on Coarse Gold Creek; some still there, some at agency.	240
How-ches:	once large; always have been on the Fresno.	18
Pit-cat-ches and Tal-linches:	(two distinct tribes); native habitat was the San Joaquin River; still near Fort Miller.	150
Coss-wax:	"to some extent identified with the Pit-cat-ches"; native land is Deer Creek.	88
Monos:	on Fine Gold Creek and the upper San Joaquin River.	535
War-to-kes, Itee-ches, and Cho-pes:	all on Kings River; "constitute one nation" but have separate heads (on Wartoke Creek).	290
Wat-ches:	since 1854 have been on Kings River Farm.	75
No-to-no-tos and We-melches		190
Tat-ches and Wo-wells:	these four tribes are native to the lower Kings River and Tulare Lake. They were recently driven to their homes on the Fresno Farm.	165
Cow-willas:	their home is the mouth of the Kaweah at the foothills.	110
Tel-em-nies:	on the Kaweah, near Visalia.	105
Total		2,436

12: Cook ●
101, 102, 131

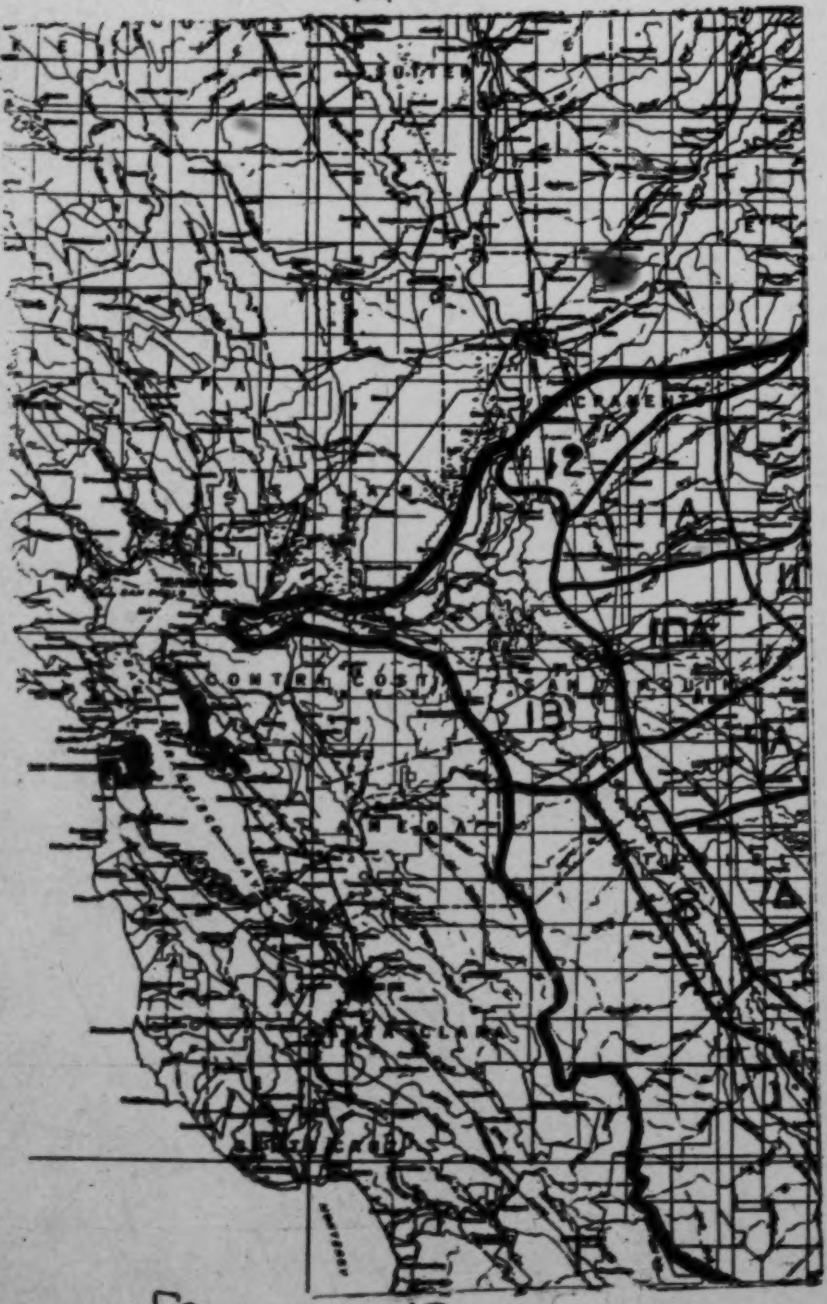
NS29 Yokuts NS29

Sec. A	Sec. B	Sec. C
Sec. D	Sec. E	Sec. F

Chart of Positions of Map Facing p. 74.

Map 1

101
102
131

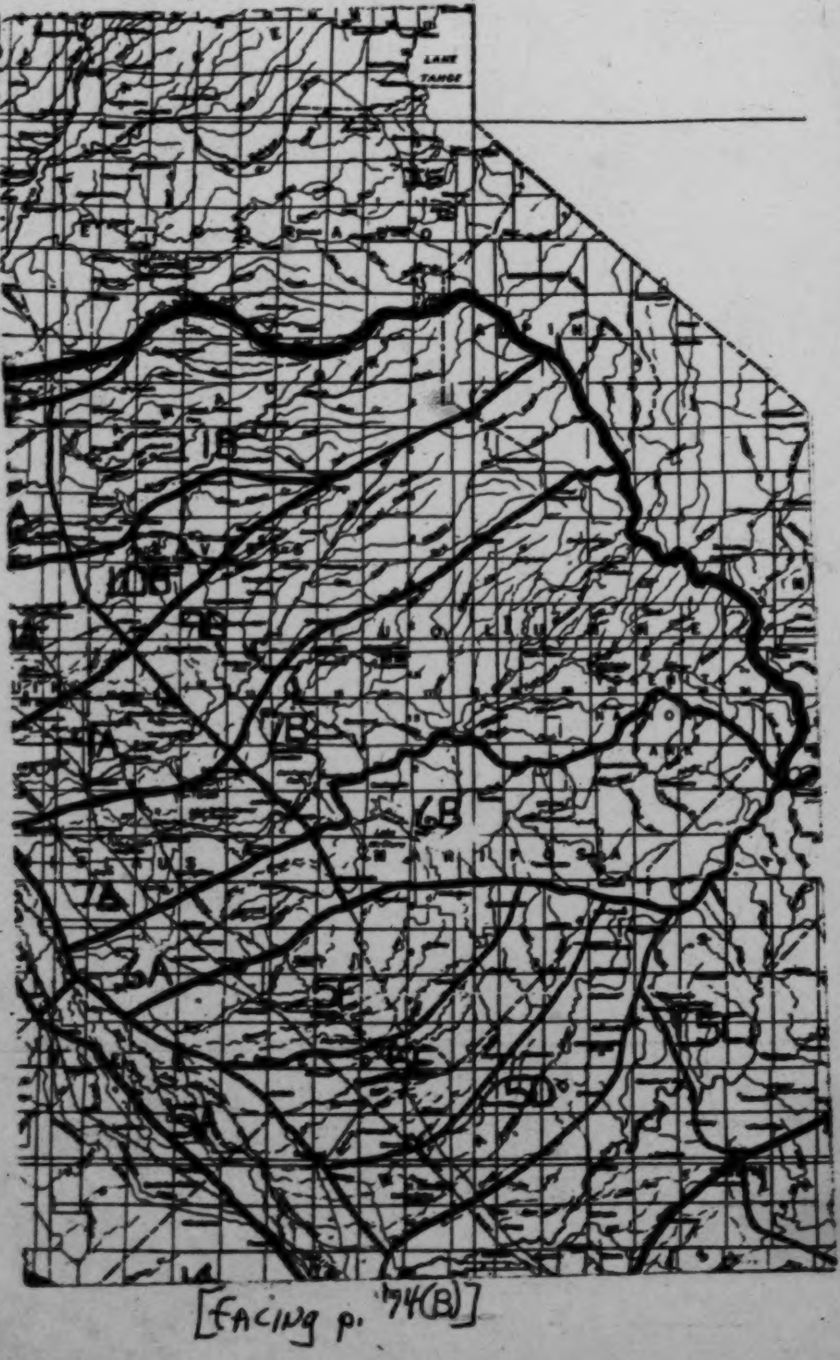

SUTTER
YOLO
SACRAMENTO
12
11A
10A
CONTRA COSTA
SAN JOAQUIN
13
ALAMEDA
8
SANTA CLARA
SANTA CRUZ

[Facing p. 74(A)]

12: Cook S-4 (no date) 1955 NS29 Yokuts NS29

Map 1

101
102
131

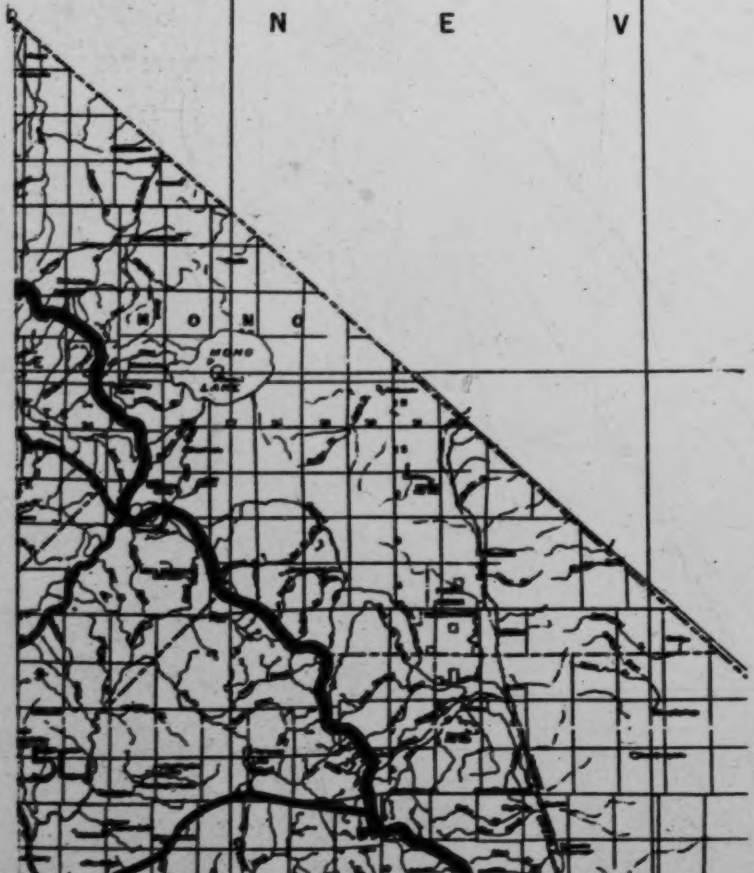

LAKE TAHOE
1B
10B
9B
7B
6B
7A
7A
5E
5D

[Facing p. 174(B)]

12: Cook S-4 (no date) 1955 NS29 Yokuts NS29

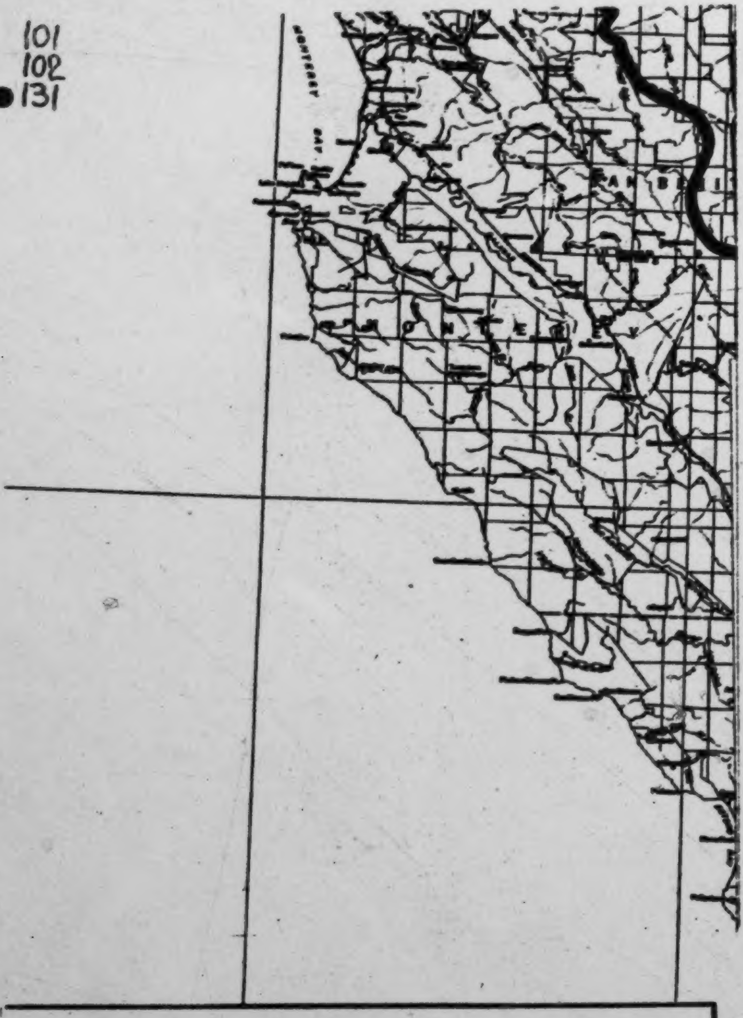
Map I

101
102
131


N
E
V
MONO
MONO LAKE
50
4C

[facing p. 74(C)]

101
102
● 131



Map 1. This map covers the entire area under discussion, extending from the Cosumnes River to the Tehachapi. The smaller divisions, denoted by numbers and letters, represent the habitat areas considered in detail in the text. The succeeding maps, drawn to larger scale, show these same areas with the tribal divisions entered as far as possible.

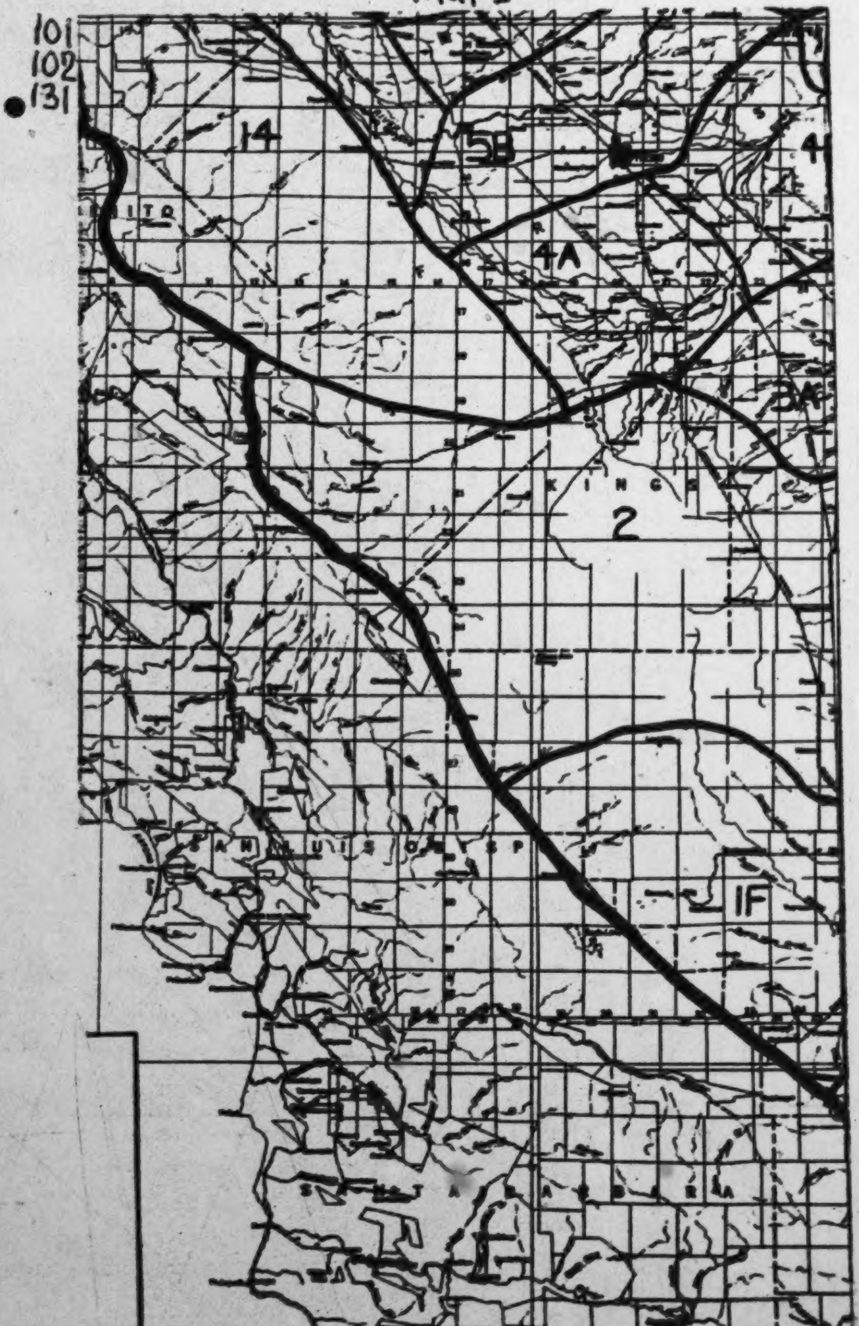
0 5 10 20 30

MILES

To accompany Cook, "Aboriginal Population of San Joaquin Valley," Univ. of Calif. Publ., Anthro. Rec. Vol. 16, No. 2.

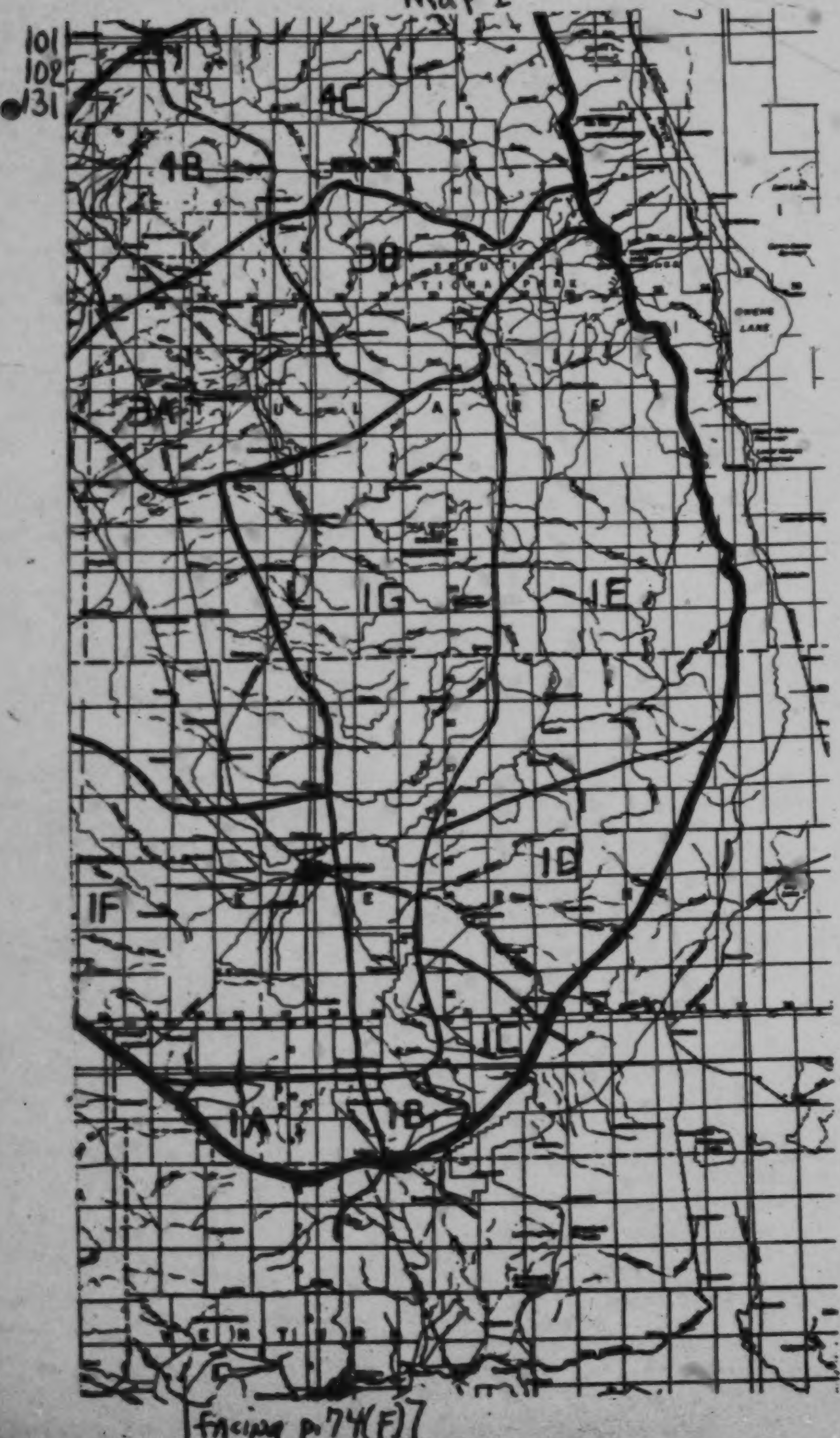
[Facing p. 74(D)]

Map 1


101
102
131
14
5B
4
4A
ITO
KINGS
2
3A
SAN LUIS OBISP
1F
SANTA BARBARA

[Facing p. 74(E)]

Map 1


101
102
131
4C
4B
3B
3A
1G
1E
1D
1F
1C
1A
1B
OWENS LAKE

[facing p. 74(F)]

TACHI YOKUTS MUSIC

James Hatch

The bulk of the music to which this paper is devoted was recorded at three different dates by different observers. The first recordings were made by Professor A. L. Kroeber before 1904 on gramophone cylinders at the Lemoore Santa Rosa Yokuts reservation. The second series was made by a schoolteacher, Mrs. Margaret Cummin of Hanford, on disks at Hanford in the summer of 1940. The last and largest series was made by the writer in the latter part of 1957, also at Lemoore. 121 126

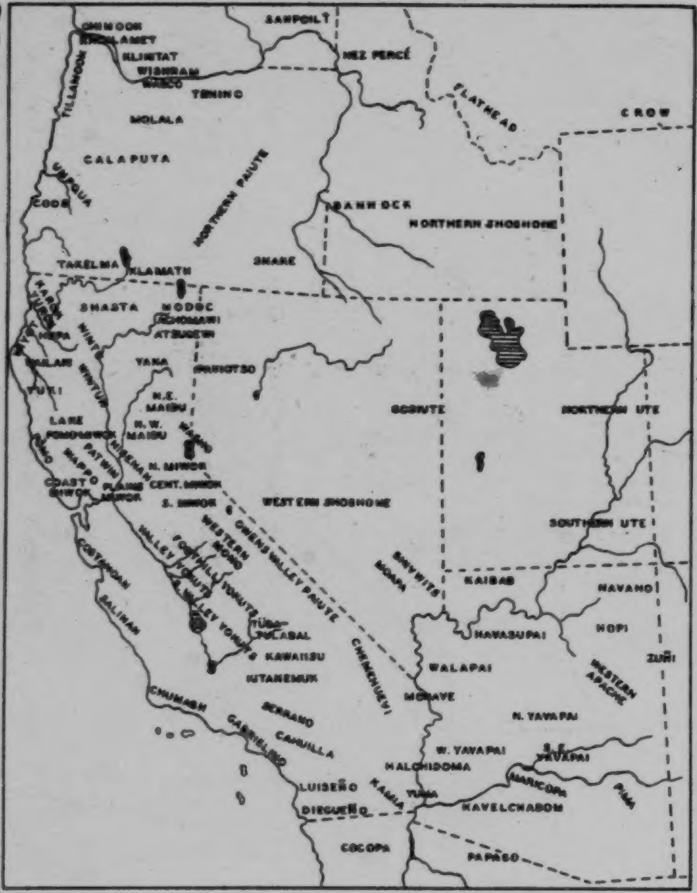
A number of points were to be covered in the selection of this particular group for study. First, the cylinder recordings which Professor Kroeber made in 1903 were Tachi rather than any of a number of other Yokuts groups. This added another dimension to the comparison of the stylistic features of the Yokuts music to the rest of California Indian music. The point was to find out if the music of this San Joaquin Valley group was stylistically more akin to that of northern California groups, such as the tribes of the Sacramento River Valley or to, say, that of coastal groups. Two contrasting styles were used for comparison, primarily because of their distinctive qualities and also because of their relative proximity. 121

The other main point concerned the writing of the music. A number of writers have referred to the possibility that variation in music might be structured, or rather, that there is an implicit "direction" to music and that variations can be plotted in a scheme similar to phonetics. That is, in any given musical pattern one might have a certain amount of variability and that variability might or might not be significant to the native. This proposition is almost self-evident; different singers can vary the features of any popular song so that the song will be either "better", "worse" or just "different". The changes which are not recognized as changes are also significant here. The problem is whether or not selection can be rigorous and still not alter the basic framework of the music.

The Tachi Yokuts were distributed over an area roughly north of Tulare Lake west to the Mount Diablo section of the coast range. They were a large and warlike group, possibly reaching a population of 500. The Yokuts language is classified with Miwok, Maidu, Wintun, and Costanoan as part of the Penutian superstock. Further ethnographic material on the Yokuts can be found in Kroeber (1907) and Gayton (1948). 101 [131] [161] [197]

The remnants of the Tachi spend a large part of the year on the Santa Rosa reservation near Lemoore. The number of families is constantly fluctuating and the population ranges from two or three dozen families to only two or three, depending upon the season. The housing consists of about three dozen shacks in extremely poor repair. The reservation is located on an alkali flat unsuitable for either agriculture or animal husbandry. The Tachis work at a variety of jobs. No one from the reservation has been known 105

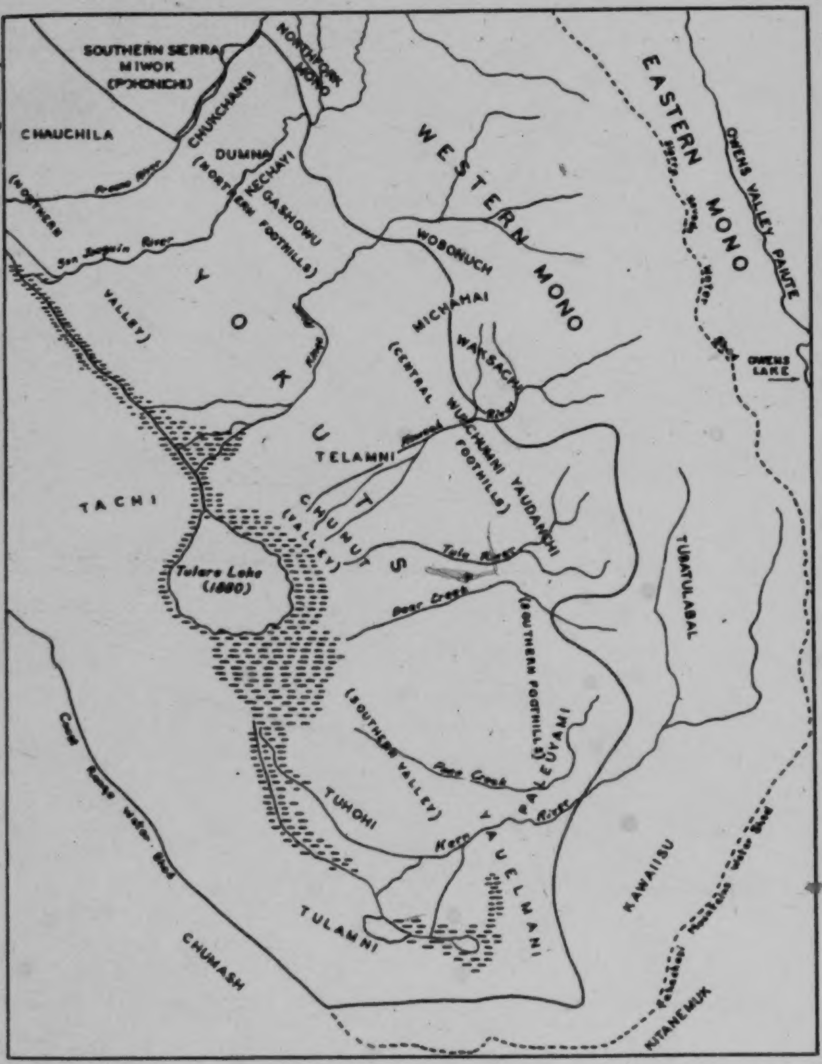
101
102
131


SANPOIL
CHINOOK
CATHLAMET
KLIKITAT
WISHRAM
WASCO
TENINO
NEZ PERCÉ
FLATHEAD
CROW
TILLAMOOK
MOLALA
CALAPUYA
UMPQUA
COOS
NORTHERN PAIUTE
BANNOCK
NORTHERN SHOSHONE
SNAKE
TAKELMA
KLAMATH
KAROK
YUROK
SHASTA
MODOC
ACHOMAWI
ATSUGEWI
HUPA
WIYOT
MATTOLE
WAILAKI
YUKI
WINTUN
YANA
WASHO
N.E. MAIDU
N.W. MAIDU
LAKE
POMO
MIWOK
WAPPO
PATWIN
NISENAN
N. MIWOK
CENT. MIWOK
COAST MIWOK
PLAINS MIWOK
S. MIWOK
WESTERN SHOSHONE
GOSIUTE
NORTHERN UTE
SOUTHERN UTE
WESTERN MONO
OWENS VALLEY PAIUTE
VALLEY YOKUTS
FOOTHILL YOKUTS
VALLEY YOKUTS
COSTANOAN
SALINAN
TÜBATULABAL
KAWAIISU
KITANEMUK
SHIVWITS
MOAPA
KAIBAB
NAVAHO
HAVASUPAI
HOPI
ZUÑI
WESTERN APACHE
CHEMEHUEVI
WALAPAI
MOHAVE
N. YAVAPAI
W. YAVAPAI
S.E. YAVAPAI
CHUMASH
SERRANO
CAHUILLA
GABRIELINO
HALCHIDOMA
MARICOPA
PIMA
LUISEÑO
KAMIA
YUMA
KAVELCHADOM
DIEGUEÑO
COCOPA
PAPAGO

Map 1. Tribes of California and adjacent territory.

[p. 12]

101
102
● 131
133


SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK (P'HONICHI)
NORTH FORK MONO
CHUKCHANSI
CHAUCHILA
DUMNA
NECHAYI
GASHOWU
(NORTHERN FOOTHILLS)
(NORTHERN
VALLEY)
Fresno River
San Joaquin River
Kings River
YOKUTS
WESTERN MONO
EASTERN MONO
OWENS VALLEY PAIUTE
OWENS LAKE
Main Water Shed
WOBONUCH
MICHAHAI
WAKSACHI
(CENTRAL
WUKCHUMNI
FOOTHILLS)
YAUDANCHI
Kaweah River
TELAMNI
TACHI
CHUNUT
(VALLEY)
Tule River
Tulare Lake (1880)
Deer Creek
TUBATULABAL
(SOUTHERN FOOTHILLS)
PALEUYAMI
(SOUTHERN VALLEY)
Poso Creek
TUHOHI
Kern River
YAUELMANI
TULAMNI
KAWAIISU
Coast Range Water Shed
CHUMASH
Tehachapi Mountains Water Shed
KITANEMUK

Map 2. Yokuts and Western Mono tribes.

[p. 13]